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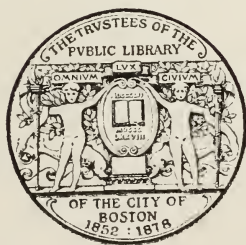
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EDITOR: ZOLTAN HARASZTI

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# THE Boston Public Library QUARTERLY

JANUARY 1955

Satan as the Prince of Evil

The Preaching of New England Puritans

By EDWARD K. TREFZ

IF it is true that the most distinguishing marks of an age are its unconscious assumptions, Puritanism was more deeply in debt to the Middle Ages than has usually been recognized. The Bible was central in Puritan life and few groups have studied it more earnestly. Nevertheless, a detailed examination of Puritan sermons reveals that countless elements in the background of their thinking came not from the Scripture, but from the popular assumptions of the Dark Ages. These assumptions, blended with the plain data of the Bible, made up the Puritan theology which gave Satan a significant place as the Prince of Evil.

Evidence that there was a certain skepticism abroad, even in Colonial America, regarding the existence of devils and of Satan is seen in the rather emphatic assertions of a number of eminent divines that such beings exist. Increase Mather cited John Webster, the English physician, who held that the so-called appearances of the devil and evil spirits were due to men's fancy; Mather thought this blasphemous, for it was "contrary to scripture" as proved by many passages.<sup>1</sup> In like manner, Benjamin Colman warned that none should question the dark and uncomfortable truth that there are devils, for our own corruption shows it. He clinched the discussion by asserting "...

that person must be much under the power of the devil who questions whether there is one."<sup>2</sup>

It is when the Puritan writers go on to elaborate this basic conviction, to point out just what Satan is and how he operates, that one may see the unconscious influence of the devil lore of the past which led them considerably beyond the Bible.

The designation of Satan as the Prince of Evil is clearly Biblical. In the matter of moral evil there is none prior to him, for he is eminently the "wicked one." Sin was not known in this world before his rebellion; he is the most industrious sinner there is, making a career of it and pursuing it relentlessly; he transcends all others in perpetuity of sin, for he sinneth "from the beginning."<sup>3</sup> The Puritans assumed that Satan was the chief of a whole kingdom of evil forces, whose sole intent it was to lead man into wickedness. In Thomas Shepard's catechism the question "What is the Devil?" was given this answer: "That great number of apostate and rebellious angels, which through pride and blasphemy against God, and malice against man, became liars and murderers of man."<sup>4</sup> The singular concept of Satan is applied here to a plural agency. Whether the term specifically referred to the apostate angel who led the rebellion against God and as a result was cast out of heaven, or whether it referred to the vast legions of hell, made little difference. Cotton Mather believed the air was full of swarms of demons and fallen angels with arrows enough to darken the sun, but they were so united in one perverse purpose that they could all be referred to as "the devil."<sup>5</sup>

As to the nature of the fallen angels, Samuel Willard regarded them as created, intelligent beings, each having individual subsistence, and each one free from corporeal matter. The incorporeal nature of demons was proved by the statement of Jesus in Luke 24:39, "a spirit hath not flesh and bones." Willard further asserted, "That they can assume a bodily shape is in vain questioned by any."<sup>6</sup> This belief, so widely accepted throughout the Middle Ages, was believed by Willard to have scriptural support in Hebrews 13:2, "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers; for thereby some have entertained angels unawares." Few people in the seventeenth century doubted that the devil possessed the ability to take upon himself any shape

or appearance he desired, or that he could strike the imaginations of men and cause them to see any image that served his purpose. It was this belief, resting much more heavily upon popular superstition than upon Biblical evidence, that gave foundation to the whole business of witchcraft.

The story of the serpent's seducing Eve in the Garden of Eden was also believed to give spiritual support to the conviction that Satan could assume any shape he wished. None of the Puritans doubted that the fall was the direct achievement of the devil. Whether Satan simply assumed the form of a serpent, or whether he entered into a serpent and used it as an instrument, was a matter of discussion. Willard observed that the manifestations of reason, speech, and persuasion attributed to the serpent in the story are altogether preternatural in such a creature and clearly implicate Satan although his name is not mentioned.<sup>7</sup> He believed that Satan used a serpent, however, rather than that he assumed a serpent's form.<sup>8</sup> The reason for this was that the curse placed upon it in Genesis 3:14 would not properly apply to Satan, but only to a serpent. He argued that Satan entered the serpent by divine permission and thus the devil, and not the serpent, was really the blamable cause of sin. He did not further explain why the curse upon the serpent was just if it were not blamable. John Davenport also held that Satan used the serpent as an instrument.<sup>9</sup> Benjamin Colman, on the other hand, spoke of "the Devil in the serpent's form," and of the "pretended serpent."<sup>10</sup> In either case there was agreement that Satan engineered the fall and that he could appear in whatever form, or employ whatever agency, best suited his purpose.

Just how far the devil could go in the matter of performing miracles, and in producing illusions and delusions, was a subject of perennial interest. John Davenport defined miracle as "an operation above and beyond the constituted order of nature." He differentiated between *mirabilia* and *miracula*, for he believed there were powers of nature unknown to man which could produce phenomena that appeared to be miraculous when they really were not. The ignorant were more easily deceived by this than the learned; but all men were susceptible to deception to a degree, and Satan pressed this advantage whenever

he could. The devil "hath further insight into the nature of things than any man hath" and is thus able to produce effects which seem miraculous without being such. Only God can make something out of nothing, or function above and beyond the constituted order of things.<sup>11</sup> Thus Davenport left room in the order of nature for the operation of Satan just as Aquinas did centuries before.

The legend of the fall of the angels was uncritically accepted by all, and elaborate discussions of its causes and significance are found among these writers. Willard explained that God made the angels higher than men, but required them to minister unto men (Hebrews 1:14). This was to test them, he explained, and since it was in no way evil, it is an unblamable cause of their fall. The blamable cause was their own pride which he defined as "an overwhelming opinion of one's self which makes him think himself too good for his duty."<sup>12</sup> The fall thus occurred, not immediately after Creation, but after the creation of man, for this was the occasion of their rebellion, and immediately they became tempters and adversaries of him. John Cotton applied the doctrine of election to the fall of the angels. They fell, he said, simply because they were not elected to stand. This meant God allowed the possibility of their fall without the necessity of it. Thus God was not to blame, but Satan who "exalted himself."<sup>13</sup>

Considerable effort was made to delimit the differences between the fall of man and the fall of the angels, so that no compassion or sympathy would be wasted on the devil and his hordes. God has compassion on man and none on the fallen angels, for several good and sufficient reasons. One is that the angels fell entirely of their own accord, whereas man was, to some degree at least, the victim of Satan's malice. In Colman's words:

The devil had none to accuse but himself when he fell. The angels that sinned left their own place; they did it voluntarily. It is possible that some arch-angel, since the Prince of Devils, headed their revolt, was leader in it, and so seducer of the legions that followed him. But what temptation could they have to follow him from heaven?<sup>14</sup>

Moreover, there is no evidence that the devils ever have had



the slightest remorse for their rebellion, whereas man continually regrets his fall. Another distinction which Colman pointed out was that the human race was victim of an inheritance of corruption transmitted from generation to generation, but the angels were created together as distinct spiritual substances and were not derived one from another. Sin is therefore inevitable to the angels. If it were reasonable that the devils should have received mercy, surely the Son of God, who saw them fall, would have saved them. Since God regards them without compassion, they are completely foul and totally wicked. "Let us have the Devil in detestation as the blessed and righteous God hath."<sup>15</sup>

**I**N the sense that there was no sin before the fall of the first parents and Satan was the instigator of that fall, it can be said that all sin comes from him. Since the fall, however, the corruption of human nature is itself sufficient to account for much of the wickedness performed by man without extra stimuli from the devil. The Puritans held closely to the Calvinistic understanding of depravity. Willard wrote, original sin is a "mint in which something is ever forging; and that is nothing but mischief."<sup>16</sup> If man were allowed to go unmolested by Satan, he would sooner or later fall into sin through the impulses of his own pride and lust.

But the Prince of Evil, as the Puritans understood him, did not sit back idly and wait for such developments. He was untiring in his attempts to exploit the corruption and evil dispositions inherent in human nature. Since he was cast out of heaven, there are certain restrictions under which he must operate. He has no unlimited freedom to ply his malice against men, for if he did, man could not survive in this world. As it is, he has no means of forcing himself upon any man. His only approach is through suggestion and temptation. He must first persuade a man to invite him into his heart before he can take possession of him. He is a master of this art. The first sin was accomplished by fraud and trickery, and these have been his stock-in-trade ever since. As Thomas Hooker explained, had Eve resisted when the serpent first spoke to her, he would have had no choice but to leave her, for God had given Adam "sovereign

dominion over the creatures."<sup>17</sup> But she did not resist him, and since that time a certain corruption in man's heart enables Satan to gain control of the unregenerate and to harass the faithful.

Satan's aim with man is to lead him into sin. In man's sinful nature, "Satan hath evermore a party in us that sides with him."<sup>18</sup> Since Satan is a spirit and is able to cast his thoughts into the minds and hearts of men, to arouse their concupiscence, to stir their passions and desires, he holds a great advantage in his effort to exploit human weakness. Although he was not believed to possess omniscience, that being one of the gifts lost in his fall, he was recognized as having more knowledge than men and also age-long experience which he employs with consummate skill.

Natural man, or man who has not experienced the grace of God, was thought to be wholly under Satan's dominion. Solomon Stoddard reasoned that natural corruption was nothing more than the absence of holiness. "When man lost the image of God, there was nothing positive put into him."<sup>19</sup> Void of goodness, faith, humility, and love, he was a fit subject to embark upon a career of evil and godlessness, and not least among the dangers waiting to overtake him were the snares of Satan, laid with care and craftiness. Satan misses no opportunity to work upon man's lusts and to strengthen all his perverse potentialities.

Once a man commits sin, he sells himself into a kind of slavery to Satan. By that sinful act he becomes a kind of partner of the devil and a sharer of his enmity for God and man. Nehemiah Walter wrote, "The Devil when he first assaulted man with his temptations gained a victory over him, and men are now naturally captives to him, as being conquered by him: and by the just judgment of God are left under his power."<sup>20</sup> Natural men are those who call the devil "Father" (John 8:44), who serve him as a god (II Cor. 4:4), who have allowed him to occupy their hearts as a strong man occupies a house, (Mt. 12:29). The power that can break his hold upon them is kept out, and so they are Satan's slaves in complete subservience to his will. Thomas Hooker described in vivid terms how Satan takes possession of men:



THE  
Christians Exercise  
BY  
SATANS *Temptations* :  
OR,

An *Essay* to discover the methods  
which this Adversary useth to  
*Tempt* the Children of GOD ; and  
to direct them how to escape the  
mischief thereof.

BEING  
*The Substance of several* SERMONS  
*Preached on that Subject.*

---

By SAMUEL WILLARD,  
Teacher of a Church in Boston.

---

Jam. IV. 7.  
*Resist the Devil, and he shall flee from you.*

---

BOSTON in N. E.  
Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, for  
Benjamin Eliot, at his Shop under the West  
End of the Town-House. 1701.



The divell casts wicked thoughts into their hearts and carries them into the commission of those evils which formerly he had suggested; the Divell rules in them; he speaks their tongues, and works by their hands, and thinks and desires by their minds, and walks by their feete.<sup>21</sup>

They are his because they do his will. The devil is despised primarily because of one thing, his avid interest in promoting sin. Charles Chauncy described sin as a poison so potent that one drop of it was enough to contaminate an ocean.<sup>22</sup> The man who committed a sin of any kind committed it against God, an infinite being; by that act he allowed a boundless evil to enter his will; by committing such an act, he was aiding the spread of this evil to others; and by such a sin man himself was deprived of an infinite good. This was the kind of sin Satan was tirelessly seeking to thrust upon the human race! It was the view of John Cotton that "When a man wittingly or unwittingly commits any knowne sinne, he doth actually give his soule to the Devill as a witch doth her body and soule."<sup>23</sup> Apart from the grace of God, man had no power and no desire to resist this pull toward evil. Natural man is "stuck fast and glued" to his corruptions and "riveted to his sins."<sup>24</sup>

Once a man had committed sin, he was delivered into the clutches of Satan and only the power of God himself could free him from that bondage. His helplessness was described by Hooker ". . . we are as able to make worlds, and to pull hell in pieces, as to pull a poore soule from the paw of the Divell."<sup>25</sup> Israel in Egypt had never known a slavery like that of the unredeemed to Satan, and yet the most pathetic thing about it was that in most cases they were unaware of being in such bondage. The regenerate sometimes fell again into Satan's hands, but never did they confuse their bondage with their freedom. The natural man who had never known the grace and love of God, was often content to follow in the way he was going without realizing that the devil was leading him down to hell.

Satan often did, and always could, make his appeals directly to the mind and the soul of man without the use of any instruments whatever. He had innumerable schemes with which he could ply the unwary and in one way or another turn them toward the way that led to perdition. Chauncy listed some of the

plots by which Satan seeks to win the souls of men: (1) He procures them secrecy and success in their evil enterprises. (2) He draws them, by all the baits he can engage in their lust, to ale-houses, drinking, revelling, gaming, feasting, all manner of good fellowship meetings, and bedlam-fooleries where the devil himself is present in his pontification. (3) He fills their heads with a multitude of worldly occasions with hope of getting wealth. (4) And like a crafty juggler he casts mists before their eyes, or puts out their eyes so they shall not see the ugly fact of sin.<sup>26</sup> Many other Puritan preachers, hoping that to be forewarned was in some degree to be forearmed, sought to expose the wily schemes by which Satan tried to trap the unsuspecting.

The freedom of the human will makes man an attractive target for Satan. He knows how to tailor a temptation to fit man's natural temper. If a man is angry, he tempts him to deeds of violence; if despondent, to unfaithfulness and lack of trust in God. He watches the providences which God sends upon man and strives to turn either prosperity or adversity to serve his own ends.

In the matter of temptation his theology enabled the Puritan to interpret all that happened. Just as there was a permissive providence on God's part which allowed the first sin but did not make God responsible for it since it happened only by man's free choice, so there was a side to temptation that was not blameworthy. It must serve a good purpose, or God would not allow it. Insofar as it was a trying of men's faith it was a good thing; victory in that test strengthened the believer. In the sense that temptation was an attempt to lure man into sin, however, it was not from God, for He tempteth not any man (James 1:13). Willard drew the line by calling one "temptation of probation," and the other "temptation of seduction."<sup>27</sup> Hardships, afflictions, tribulations, and trials belonged to the first category and they were sent to punish, to alert, to warn, or to test. Although the suffering from such tests was real enough, God allowed it and its purpose was therefore good.

When Satan had a hand in such things, as he often did, he meant to accomplish no good by them. It was his purpose, as in the case of Job, to destroy man's trust in God and to bring

about his ruin. Satan operated in such things in a secondary role. The ultimate cause was God since He permitted it to happen, and Satan acted simply as one of His instruments. He had as much freedom to afflict as God permitted, since regarding Job he was told to test his faith but to spare his life. His malice moves him to "breed and increase a distance and a division between the soul and God."<sup>28</sup> He desires to destroy men and not to strengthen them, but whether he is able to succeed depends upon how men react to his afflictions.

**A**NOTHER role that Puritan thought gave to Satan was that of punishing agent in the hand of God. They referred to him as "God's jailer," who in God's righteous wrath is given the liberty to apply judgments upon sinful men. If men stubbornly refuse to turn to God, if they reject His infinite wooing and pleading, by the very hardness of their hearts they damn themselves, and the devil is let loose upon them to administer the retribution they deserve. Not always was Satan the instrument by which such punishment was sent. Directly and without his aid God destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, and the judgment upon Ananias and Sapphira was immediate; but often "for reasons infinitely wise," as Willard expressed it, God gives Satan and his hordes leave to "vent abundance of their spleen against his people."<sup>29</sup> Against the faithful such judgments were like the chastisement that a father administers to his child for the child's own good. These judgments are terrible only to "unbelieving and impenitent sinners."<sup>30</sup> The faithful in such cases will search their own hearts and review their action to try to discover the cause of the judgment and to seek to remedy the defect.

As they observed afflictions and judgments come upon the unregenerate, the Puritans regarded them as entirely just punishments inflicted because of stubborn refusal to accept the gospel message. Thomas Hooker described their position with clarity: "No, saith God, you will not be ruled by holiness? Then take him, uncleanness; many a man hath a wrathful disposition; take him envie, saith God; let him bring blood on others and so ruin to himself."<sup>31</sup> In their thought there was no middle



ground. The person who refused to come to Christ, by that refusal delivered himself into the hands of Satan. Satan was not able to take over a man's soul utterly unless the man was so hopelessly bad that God had given him up. In this case Satan becomes God's executioner, taking a life that is justly his. With such a sinner God withdraws His protection and Satan is allowed to do his utmost; but even here he is simply carrying out the righteous judgment of God.

While it was believed that Satan could and often did afflict and tempt men directly without the use of instruments, it was recognized also that he did not hesitate to use whatever agents seemed to serve his interests. One of the most effective aids the devil has in this world is wicked men. He loves to use such persons to "corrupt one another and harden one another in wickedness."<sup>32</sup> Willard wrote that evil men are "Devil's decoys with which he draws men into the snare."<sup>33</sup> This conviction accounts for the many exhortations that were made against bad company keeping, the practice of haunting ale-houses, or gambling, and gaming.

Surprising as it may seem, the Puritans believed that Satan was able also to employ good men on occasions as his colleagues. Sometimes those who are nearest and dearest to a man, use their influence to turn him away from God. Illustrations were seen in the case of Job's wife, who advised him at the point of his severest encounter with Satan to "curse God and die." Likewise the devil used Peter to tempt Christ, to seek his own ends rather than those of God and to try to avoid the cross. Hooker remarked, "No lesse instrument could serve him to frustrate the second covenant then the senior disciple of our saviour's, who us'd but a dispicable serpent to doe as such to the first."<sup>34</sup> The craft of Satan was evident in his ability to strike man in his weakest spots and at his weakest moments, and often by means of those he trusted most.

In his role as jailer and executioner of God's righteous wrath, Satan was naturally granted much more control over the unregenerate than over the regenerate. Much of the burden of Puritan preaching was directed toward these unfortunates in an effort to rescue them from certain doom and to turn them toward the mercy of God. The medieval notions that the lost

would suffer the burning torments of a vividly real hell were widely held, and often these tortures were described in starkest terms in order to terrify the sinner out of his complacency.

Not all of the preacher's concern, however, was with the natural man. John Cotton believed that the real child of the devil was not the natural man deprived of grace and prone to sin but the man in the bosom of the church who knew the way in which he should walk, but resolved to do evil instead.<sup>35</sup> These who had experienced the grace of God were not necessarily safe thereafter from Satan's assaults. Indeed, they might well expect that he would be after them with all the more determination since it was a greater triumph for him if he could win a soul that had been well on the road toward salvation. The man who had known the truth of the gospel and had once cast lust out of his heart, but again willfully committed sin, opened the door for seven wicked spirits more deadly than the first.<sup>36</sup> Hypocrisy, pride, false security, pretense, and falling again into sinful ways were dangers against which the pious were constantly warned. These were weaknesses that Satan was only too eager to exploit.

Satan was pictured again and again as the adamant foe of piety. If the believer was safe only when he was in complete communion with God, it was to the devil's interest to disrupt that communion by whatever means he could. He did anything within his power to cause the mind to wander during worship, to suggest wrong and improper attitudes, to induce one to pray for the wrong things and in a wrong spirit. Sometimes, the preachers affirmed, God would allow Satan to "straighten" one a little in prayer as did the disciples in Gethsemane, to alert them to certain faults and deficiencies; but if the worshipper was not on guard, he would be enticed from God's care into the clutches of evil.

Since the preaching of God's Word was the main means by which His grace was mediated, the devil was diligent to hinder its effectiveness in every way. Increase Mather believed it was Satan who caused Eutychus to fall asleep while Paul preached (Acts 20:9), with the purpose of destroying him and at the same time creating a great disturbance in the worship service. Satan knows ". . . that when the Word of God is faith-

fully dispensed, in case men attend to what is spoken, good is likely to come into their souls thereby; and that's the thing the Devil is afraid of."<sup>37</sup>

Another means by which Satan could interfere with the effectual ministry of the Word was to stir up heresy. If he could not altogether prevent the hearing and the teaching of God's truth, he tried to distort it. Wrong doctrines, which Chauncy called "godlesse cogitation," tended to give men false hopes, blind their eyes to truth, and lead them further from the way. Puritan thinking in this regard was clearly outlined by Increase Mather when he discussed the various assaults which had been made upon the doctrine of the divinity of Christ. Satan was the first to do it in the temptation story when he said, "*If thou be the Son of God . . .*" casting doubt upon the claim. Later there were Ebion, Cerinthus, Arius, and many others who proposed heretical interpretations of this teaching. "Thus we see that Satan layeth a battery against this truth, because he knowes the souls and salvation of men are concerned in the belief of it."<sup>38</sup> If the saving truth could be corrupted, it would no longer save and the devil would be the victor in the struggle for the souls of men.

From motives entirely similar, the Puritans believed that Satan did everything within his power to interfere with the work of the church. Ministers could expect criticism, opposition, and misunderstanding, for the devil was at pains to promote such things so that the hearers of their preaching would not be so receptive to its message. Sometimes the ministers themselves experienced the strong urge to speak the things that they knew would be acceptable and pleasing to their hearers, rather than the truth which might rebuke or offend. This, they cautioned one another, was a wile of Satan that should be vigorously resisted. Internal dissensions in the congregation destroyed the fellowship and peace of the church, and gave a bad name to the faith in the eyes of those who were outside. For these reasons, the underlying cause of these difficulties, which have prevailed from the beginning in the Christian church, was often recognized to be the labor of Satan. A few evil men within a church organization served the devil's interests well, for he delighted to sow his tares among the wheat.



The problems of indifference, lethargy, and half-heartedness always haunted the Puritans who sought sincerity above all else in their religious life. Despite their most determined endeavors to have it otherwise, there were always partially-committed Christians within the fellowship, who conformed outwardly and had the appearance of piety but had no compelling zeal for the gospel message. In a cumbersome sentence Thomas Shepard lamented:

Would to God there were not a generation of those men among us that having been so oft sermon-trod and prayer-beaten, that now their hearts are hardened, and being used to ordinances and being so long ridden under them, I wish they were not tired and jaded under them before they come half way home, that they had rather lie and die on the highway than get up, and with mighty groans and invincible wrestlings of heart seek after and find the Lord in them.<sup>39</sup>

The problem of indifference grew to alarming proportions during the latter decades of the seventeenth century, after the leaders of the first generation had passed on. The efforts of Satan to undermine the faith seemed to be succeeding and a number of the clergymen were convinced that the end of the age was drawing near.

**I**T must not be thought that the devil was the only foe with which the Christians of New England had to deal. He was not the subject of every Puritan sermon, although he was mentioned in most of them and his activity was implied in many more. Other evils of which the believer needed to be aware were the world, lust, sin, death, and corruption. These represented different things, although the usage of terms was not consistent and their particular categories were not fixed. The devil was believed to have a hand in all of them at least some of the time. Since his workings were so devious and subtle it was assumed that he operated behind the scenes in anything that impeded the growth of piety and godliness in the land.

Despite this assumption, which was implicit when it was not explicit, the preachers were cautious to indicate that Satan should never be a scapegoat for human responsibility. Colman warned, "Let us beware of imputing to the Devil too much of

our own sin and guilt.”<sup>40</sup> There must have been a tendency among the faithful to do this to make the warning necessary, although the teaching of the church had been consistent in this regard. Colman felt it was impossible to say that the devil was not in a particular sin, or that he was in every sin. He was himself certain of Satan’s reality, and knew that it was his evil design to work all possible wickedness and mischief against men. When it came to fixing the blame, however, he remarked “. . . ordinarily it is wise and best to charge ourselves.”<sup>41</sup> Since Satan could gain no dominion over a person without his willing consent, the responsibility was always upon man.

The prowess of Satan as the champion of evil was respected by the Puritans as much as by any group in Christian history. No Christian body, however, has ever yielded its faith regarding the final outcome of the struggle for men’s souls, and the Puritans gloried in the certitude that God and not Satan was almighty. There is a danger in stating the nature of God’s victory over the devil, the danger that it may sound easier than it actually is. The doctrines can be stated quite simply, but sinful man has never found it easy to replace the power of evil in his life with goodness, love, and justice. Satan’s grasp on a sinner’s soul could be broken only by a power greater than Satan, and since he never abandoned a soul willingly, he must be overpowered by one mightier than he. The Puritans rejoiced, as have believers in every Christian century, that God has broken Satan’s power and the victory could be theirs if they accepted this truth and committed their lives through Christ.

Since Eden all men have fallen under the bondage of sin. Because each one has in his own life repeated Adam’s act of disobedience, he has been rightfully given over to Satan. But out of His boundless compassion, God has had pity upon us. “Hee sent His Sonne” to seek and to save those that are lost. The idea of the atonement held by the Puritans was really the ransom idea. As it was expressed in their preaching, they were not guilty of dualism, of making God finally bow down to Satan. The moving force in the great drama of salvation was the compassion of God, although His righteousness was held with equal vigor. Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, was the one who broke Satan’s power over men and delivered them out of

his clutches. His coming to earth was completely an act of God's love, and His temptation by Satan was a further manifestation of divine compassion. He did not have to submit to temptation, since God was believed to have a chain on Satan's neck and could haul him in at any time. Nevertheless He did submit to it, and He did it out of His love for man. As Nehemiah Walter expressed it, ". . . it was for our sakes he deeply humbled himself, and suffered that evil spirit to afflict his Holy Soul by his daily blasphemous suggestions."<sup>42</sup> The very fact that Christ assumed human form was a part of the wisdom and the justice of God to crush and confound the devil more impressively. As Increase Mather wrote: "It was man that Satan envied and murdered from the beginning. Therefore God would punish his malice by crushing his head with that very nature which he envied and sought the destruction of."<sup>43</sup>

The ransom theory holds that man has been delivered unto Satan justly since man has sinned and the righteousness of God demands that His holiness be upheld. He cannot ignore transgression as if it did not matter. Therefore, if man is to be pardoned for his sin, the penalty must be paid. This, in brief, was done when Jesus Christ, who was God incarnate, was crucified. The objection which is sometimes made that this theory makes Satan superior to God, since God had to come to his terms, does not apply to the Puritan conception of it. Chauncy pointed out that Satan does not receive the payment. He is only the jailer; sin provides the chains that bind man, and the world and death are the prison and the torments: "Wee are primarily God's captives, who is the judge against whom we have sinned, to whose wrath, curse, judgment, and vengeance we are in bondage; the ransome therefore is paid to God as the judge."<sup>44</sup>

The reality of sin and evil in life was not doubted in the slightest. That Satan and all he represented in life constituted a formidable foe was readily admitted. But that any kind of ultimate status should be given to him, or that he was to be regarded as standing on the same plane as God, was consistently denied. Hooker stated the same doctrine in different terms when he explained how God paid the price for the iniquity of all mankind: "All this was done by Christ who was God, all this was done by the second person of the Trinitie . . . now God

satisfieth God, God paid the ransome to God, therefore the ransome cannot but be compleat."<sup>45</sup> In this explanation the devil is not even mentioned. God alone is supreme.

Christ's sacrifice on Calvary has completely satisfied the conditions of righteousness. God, who was offended by man's sin, has paid the penalty himself; thus the sinners whom the jailer has held can be released from his charge. Christ's atonement has pardoned the sinner, and in a way of speaking has wrought his transfer from the kingdom of Satan to the Kingdom of God. This central act of the Christian faith is efficacious because it was done by God; it is relevant to man because Christ was God in human flesh. The work of Christ is the victory that overcomes not only the world, but sin, Satan, hell, and death as well; and the believer may share this victory through faith. Shepard therefore admonished, "Go to Christ to untie the knots of Satan, you do now undermine the main plot of Satan, you break his head, having recourse to Christ to do this."<sup>46</sup>

The preachers always made their appeal to the believer to open his heart, to commit his way unto the Lord, to turn from the things of this world, to examine his own heart and confess his utter helplessness apart from God's mercy revealed in Christ. God was always pictured as eager to free man from his bondage to sin and to deliver him from Satan.

Once released from this bondage, the sinner is aligned on God's side in the battle against the forces of evil. As long as he remains so, he is protected by a strength not his own; the evil world can do its utmost, yet he will stand fast. "Let the wisest man upon earth, and the most knowing devils in hell," Willard wrote, "proceed with the most mature deliberations, lay all their heads together, take never so much time to consult, find out the most probable ways to effect . . . yet all this contrivance and cost shall be overwhelmed and resolutions brought to nothing."<sup>47</sup>

The assaults of Satan, however, did not end with man's conversion. He was ever active to win back the soul he had lost and hinder its salvation. The relics of sin always encumbered man, and the lusts of the flesh might ever blaze forth anew. There was no positive security this side of glory. Vigilance was



always necessary, prayer could not be neglected, devotion, humility, and consecration were indispensable. The ministers endeavored to keep their flocks on the paths of rectitude, to allay over-confidence and cultivate piety.

They never doubted that the day was coming in which Satan would be completely subdued, and sometimes they believed that day was near at hand. In the meantime the faithful were not to be ignorant of his devices. This did not mean that they thoroughly understood Satan's whole "skeam of things, or could give a particular account of all his turnings and windings,"<sup>48</sup> but they believed they understood him well enough to be vigilant and cautious. Above all, they knew where their help was, and they knew that it was adequate.

## Notes

1. Increase Mather, *A Disquisition Concerning the State of the Souls of Men* (Boston, 1707), p. 23. (John Webster's *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* was published in London in 1677.)

2. Benjamin Colman, *Some of the Glories of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (London, 1728), p. 43.

3. John Cotton, *A Practical Commentary . . . Upon the First Epistle General of John* (London, 1656), p. 244.

4. Thomas Shepard, *The Sum of the Christian Religion*, in *The Works of Thomas Shepard* (Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, 1853), Vol. I, p. 342.

5. Cotton Mather, *Hades Look'd into* (Boston, 1717), p. 17.

6. Samuel Willard, *The Christians Exercise By Satans Temptations* (Boston, 1701), p. 51.

7. Samuel Willard, *The Compleat Body of Divinity* (Boston, 1726), p. 180.

8. Samuel Willard, *The Christians Exercise*, p. 70.

9. John Davenport, *Ancient Waymarks* (London, 1642).

10. Benjamin Colman, *A Brief Dissertation on the Three First Chapters of Genesis* (Boston, 1735), p. 50.

11. John Davenport, *The Knowledge of Christ Indispensably required of all men that would be saved* (London, 1653), p. 63.

12. Samuel Willard, *A Compleat Body of Divinity*, p. 181.

13. John Cotton, *A Practical Commentary . . . Upon The First Epistle General of John*, p. 96.

14. Benjamin Colman, *Some of the Glories*, p. 38.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

16. Samuel Willard, *The Christians Exercise*, p. 56.



17. Thomas Hooker, *The Paterne of Perfection: Exhibited in Gods Image on Adam: And Gods Covenant made with him* (London, 1640), p. 126.
18. Samuel Willard, *The Christians Exercise*, p. 65.
19. Solomon Stoddard, *The Nature of Saving Conversion and the Way Wherein it is Wrought* (Boston, 1770), p. 25f.
20. Nehemiah Walter, *Discourse on the Whole LVth Chapter of Isaiah* (Boston, 1755), p. 46.
21. Thomas Hooker, *The Soules Humiliation* (London, 1638), p. 36f.
22. Charles Chauncy, *The Plain Doctrine of the Justification of a Sinner in the sight of God* (London, 1659), p. 255.
23. John Cotton, *The Way of Life* (London, 1641), p. 5.
24. Thomas Hooker, *The Unbelievers Preparing for Christ* (London, 1638), p. 2f.
25. Thomas Hooker, *The Soules Humiliation*, p. 37.
26. Charles Chauncy, *The Plain Doctrine of the Justification of a Sinner*, p. 263f.
27. Samuel Willard, *The Christians Exercise*, p. 12.
28. John Davenport, *The Saints Anchor-hold in all Storms and Tempests* (London, 1701), p. 9.
29. Samuel Willard, *The Fiery Trial No Strange Thing* (Boston, 1682), p. 14.
30. Benjamin Colman, *The Judgments of Providence In the Hand of Christ* (Boston, 1727), p. 19.
31. Thomas Hooker, *A Briefe Exposition of the Lord's Prayer* (London, 1645), p. 70.
32. Thomas Shepard, *The Parable of the Ten Virgins Opened & Applied* (London, 1660), Vol. II, p. 392.
33. Samuel Willard, *The Barren Fig Tree's Doom* (Boston, 1691), p. 190.
34. Thomas Hooker, *Heautonaparnumenos* (London, 1646), p. 4.
35. Cf. John Cotton, *A Practical Commentary . . . Upon the First Epistle Generall of John*, p. 243.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 426.
37. Increase Mather, *Practical Truths Tending to Promote the Power of Godliness* (Boston, 1682), p. 197.
38. Increase Mather, *The Mystery of Christ Opened and Applied* (Boston, 1686), p. 46.
39. Thomas Shepard, *The Parable of the Ten Virgins*, p. 120.
40. Benjamin Colman, *The Case of Satan's Fiery Darts* (Boston, 1744), p. 67.
41. *Loc. cit.*
42. Nehemiah Walter, *A Discourse Concerning the Wonderfulness of Christ* (Boston, 1713), p. 95.
43. Increase Mather, *The Mystery of Christ*, p. 105.
44. Charles Chauncy, *The Plain Doctrine of the Justification of a Sinner*, p. 21f.
45. Thomas Hooker, *The Saints Dignitie and Dutie* (London, 1651), p. 30.
46. Thomas Shepard, *The Parable of the Ten Virgins*, p. 219.
47. Samuel Willard, *All Plots Against God and His People Detected and Defeated* (Boston, 1682), p. 203f.
48. Samuel Willard, *The Christians Exercise*, p. 107.

# Emerson and "Manifest Destiny"

By JOHN Q. ANDERSON

SINCE so many of Emerson's essays deal with the eternal problems of mankind, he is often thought of as having little interest in contemporary affairs. Actually, Emerson's *Journals* contain far more commentary on his times than is found in the writings of contemporary men of letters. Extensive as his jottings are on literature, philosophy, and art, the great amount of space devoted to current events shows that he was intensely interested in national affairs. His comments, for instance, on "Manifest Destiny," the highly controversial and influential theory of national expansion, show that not only did he follow current political development, but that he was sometimes moved to participation in public affairs. This paper is an attempt to establish his attitude toward this popular and powerful concept.

A constant theme in all of Emerson's writing is a profound belief in the United States and its people; he came to believe that America offered man greater possibilities for developing his potential powers than any other country. When in 1822 he dedicated his newly created *Journals* to "the Spirit of America . . . to whom the Divinity hath assigned the care of this bright corner of the Universe,"<sup>1</sup> he was reflecting both a popular and an American literary tradition, a belief that the United States, because it was removed from the corrupt monarchies of Europe, was the stronghold of free men and was therefore the hope of the world. Implicit in the concept is the belief that with growth in size would come an equivalent flowering of a truly American cultural and artistic tradition. Young Emerson also noted that his native land had "leaped at once from infancy to manhood" and was "covering millions of square miles with a hardy and enterprising population."<sup>2</sup> Characteristically, however, a note of caution creeps into this rhapsody, when the young man, echoing the conservatism of the older settled areas, states that the westward migration has "led patriots to fear lest the nation grow *too fast* for its virtue and its peace." More

specifically reflecting New England's reaction to migration from that area to the more fertile western lands, young Emerson dogmatically states that "the raw multitudes who lead the front of emigration" are often "the off-scouring of civilized society" whose ruined fortunes or character lead them to seek new country. But more important is his insistence that "moral sentiment," that is, ethical principles, govern the development of the nation. Given this moral basis, "the senates that shall meet hereafter in those wilds shall be made to speak a voice of wisdom and virtue," so that the reformation of society shall be accomplished in America.<sup>3</sup>

These early *Journals* entries, all written before Emerson was twenty-five, are significant in that they present the dual aspect of the attitude the mature Emerson takes — an enthusiastic approval of America's role in the forefront of the development of democracy and a guarded approval of the conquest of the continent, both subject to a governing "moral sentiment."

In the years between the first *Journals* entries and 1837, important events had occurred in the lives of both Emerson and the nation. Emerson had given up the ministry, visited Europe, and launched an uncertain but controversial career as author and lecturer. Meanwhile, the frontier had thrust westward into Spanish territory, and the Americans who had declared a Republic in Texas were clamoring for annexation to the Union. Though Western and Southern politicians vociferously supported the expansion, such prominent New Englanders as Dr. Channing, Emerson's friend, protested against the Texas Revolution as an example of expansion by armed force.<sup>4</sup> Emerson, however, was not moved to public protest until the government forcibly removed the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes from the rapidly developing frontier of the Old Southwest. He wrote in his *Journals*: "Then is this disaster of the Cherokees brought to me by a sad friend to blacken my days and nights. I can do nothing. Why shriek? Why strike ineffectual blows?"<sup>5</sup> But when Concord held a town meeting in April, 1838, protesting the removal, Emerson reluctantly agreed to appear as a speaker, thereby beginning his participation in several contemporary events whose seriousness demanded action. "It was hardly less distasteful for him," Professor Rusk



says of the public appearance, "to write his individual protest to President Van Buren in an indignant letter [which was soon] broadcast to the nation by the newspapers."<sup>6</sup> In that letter Emerson called the removal of the Cherokees a detestable thing, pointing out that the treaty was obtained from corrupt Indians, who did not represent the whole tribe. "Will the American government steal?" he cried. "Will it lie? Will it kill?"<sup>7</sup> Certainly such action, he believed, was not governed by "moral sentiment" such as he expressed in "The Fortunes of the Republic" some years later:

America should affirm and establish that in no instance shall the guns go in advance of the present right. We shall not make *coups d'état* and afterwards explain and pay, but shall proceed like William Penn, or whatever other Christian or human person who treats with the Indian or the foreigner, on principles of honest trade and mutual advantage. We can see that the Constitution and the law in America must be written on ethical principles, so that the entire power of the spiritual world shall hold the citizen loyal, and repel the enemy as by force of nature.<sup>8</sup>

This direct contact with expansionism in 1838 did not diminish Emerson's optimistic faith in the American people. He was soon noting with pleasure the frontier motifs of the presidential campaign of 1840 in which the Whigs, with their log cabins, coonskin caps, cider barrels, and cries of "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too!" elected Harrison. During the Harrison Fourth of July celebration, he saw a large ball rolled up the streets of Concord with cries of "Keep the ball a-rollin'!" He was pleased with the sight and commented on it in his *Journals*<sup>9</sup> and in his second series of essays.<sup>10</sup> He was disappointed later that the campaign spirit of the Whigs did not last, and in a year he was commenting unfavorably on the unaggressive policy of that party. Though the Whigs ignored the pressure on the frontier, Emerson saw and recorded in his *Journals* in 1841, apparently with favor, the glowing picture De Tocqueville, the visiting Frenchman, painted of the American frontier:

America, and not Europe, is the rich man. According to De Tocqueville, the column of our population on the western frontier from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico (twelve hundred miles as the bird flies) advances every year a mean distance of seventeen miles. He adds, "This gradual and continuous progress of the European

race toward the Rocky Mountains has the solemnity of a providential event; it is like a deluge of men rising unabatedly, and daily driven onward by the hand of God."<sup>11</sup>

Elsewhere, Emerson comments on the American character which made this conquest of the continent possible. The physical hardships of settling in the New World in the seventeenth century combined with resistance to England's arbitrary power, developed a "wonderful personal independence" in Americans. "Later this strength appeared," he adds, "in the solitudes of the West, where a man is made a hero by the varied emergencies of his lonely farm, and neighborhoods must combine against the Indians, or the horsethieves, or the river rowdies, by organizing themselves into committees of vigilance." These conditions developed a people who "can find a way out of any peril. This rough and ready force becomes them, and makes them fit citizens and civilizers."<sup>12</sup>

In January, 1843, Emerson spent four days in Washington and noted the expansive influence of the West in the national capital.<sup>13</sup> Later that year, while he was preparing his second series of essays for the press, he kept up with the newspaper accounts of the presidential campaign, lamenting that the Whig platform was weak while the Democrats confidently announced their dark-horse candidate, Polk, on the platform of "the re-annexation of Texas and the re-occupation of Oregon." Concerning the hotly contested issue of the annexation of Texas, he wrote in his *Journals* in January, 1844:

The question of the annexation of Texas is one of those which looks very differently to the centuries and to the years. It is very certain that the strong British race, which have now overrun so much of this continent, must also overrun that tract, and Mexico and Oregon also, and it will in the course of ages be of small import by what particular occasions and methods it was done . . . we should consider the question in its local and temporary bearings, and resist the annexation with tooth and nail. It is a measure which goes not by right, nor by wisdom, but by feeling. It would be a pity to dissolve the Union and so diminish immensely every man's personal importance. We are just beginning to feel our oats.<sup>14</sup>

He viewed the issue in the manner which Parrington has described: "He surveyed his world with the detachment of posterity and anticipated the slower judgment of time."<sup>15</sup> Though

he did not approve of expansion by armed force, once the deed was done, new considerations were at hand. But to annex territory merely for the expansion of slavery must be resisted. Emerson opposed the spread of slavery as a matter of principle, but such opposition, he believed, should not be pursued to the dissolution of the Union, as some New Englanders advocated.

A month after this entry on Texas, Emerson delivered a lecture entitled "The Young American" before the Mercantile Library Association of Boston (February 7, 1844), a lecture which clearly expressed his optimistic faith in the future of the nation. He pleaded eloquently for an intellectual and spiritual development to match the physical development of the nation. "The land," he told his audience, "is the appointed remedy for whatever is false and fantastic in our culture." By tilling it, mining it, hunting on it, a feeling of patriotism is engendered; it has an "Americanizing influence" on its citizens and "promises to disclose new virtues for ages to come." He added:

We cannot look on the freedom of this country, in connection with its youth, without a presentiment that here shall laws and institutions exist on some scale of proportion to the majesty of nature. To men legislating for the area betwixt the two oceans, betwixt the snows and the tropics, somewhat of the gravity of nature will infuse itself into the code.<sup>16</sup>

America, he said, is "a country of beginnings, of projects, of designs, of expectations," and he called upon her young men to become its "nobility" and make of it "a leading nation" one of a "more generous sentiment," whose leading citizens are "willing to stand for the interest of general justice and humanity."<sup>17</sup> It was an easy matter for the audience to mistake this lecture for another glorification of expansion. Most people probably saw little difference in Emerson's poetic tribute to the nation and the following example of expansionist harangue from a speech delivered the same year at the New Jersey State Democratic convention:

Land enough — land enough! Make way, I say, for the young American Buffalo — he has not yet got land enough; he wants more land as his cool shelter in the summer — he wants more land for his beautiful pasture grounds. I tell you, we will give him Oregon for his summer shade, and the region of Texas for his winter pas-

ture. (Applause). Like all of his race, he wants salt, too. Well, he shall have the use of two oceans — the mighty Pacific and the turbulent Atlantic shall be his . . . He shall not stop his career until he slakes his thirst in the frozen ocean. (Cheers).<sup>18</sup>

In January, 1845, Emerson experienced the effects of such expansionistic propaganda, when his good friend Judge Samuel Hoar, Commissioner of Massachusetts in South Carolina, was forcibly ejected from Charleston because he represented to the Hotspur state New England opposition to the spread of their "peculiar institution."<sup>19</sup> Along with other New Englanders, Emerson was incensed and took part in the protest meeting in Concord.

Shortly thereafter, he went to Boston, "to hear the debates of the Texan Convention" but heard, he said, "only smooth Whig speeches on moderation."<sup>20</sup> He noted that the Massachusetts Democrats "know that the great and governing sentiment of the State is anti-slavery and anti-Texas, and whilst it is so, they can safely indulge a little flirting with the great Mother Democracy at Tammany Hall or at Washington which has made Texas the passport to its grace."<sup>21</sup> In September, 1845, he was present and probably spoke at the convention of anti-Texas agitators in Concord.<sup>22</sup> There is no record of what he said, but doubtless it was not as strong as an entry in the *Journals* about that time:

A few foolish and cunning managers ride the conscience of this great country with their Texas, or Tariff, or Democracy, or other mumbo-jumbo, and all give in and are verily persuaded that that is great, — all else is trifling.<sup>23</sup>

Shortly before the "foolish and cunning manager" scored the victory of annexation of Texas in December, 1845, the term "Manifest Destiny" was coined by John L. O'Sullivan, editor of the *Democratic Review* and the New York *Morning News*, to epitomize and dignify the basic concept of expansionism.<sup>24</sup> It is "our manifest destiny," O'Sullivan wrote "to overspread the continent," and the phrase was heard in Congress for the first time January 3, 1846, in debates on the Oregon question.<sup>25</sup> Thereafter it was widely used. "Manifest Destiny" became the war cry of the expansionists, who, now that they had Texas, wanted Mexico and Central America as well.



The possibility loomed large, for war with Mexico was declared (May 13, 1846) hardly five months after the annexation of Texas — just as Emerson's abolitionist friends had predicted. Unlike most New Englanders, Emerson saw that the people wanted war, and that they were "no worse since they invaded Mexico than they were before, only they have given their will a deed." With a confidence shared by few in the North, or in Europe, he declared, "The United States will conquer Mexico," and in agreement with the general opinion that Mexico was hopelessly corrupt, he added, "It will be as the man swallows the arsenic, which brings him down in turn. Mexico will poison us."<sup>26</sup> But he did not make public protest, as did Lowell and Thoreau. He enjoyed, however, Lowell's cutting satire in the *Bigelow Papers*, and he sympathized with Thoreau's refusal to pay his poll tax in order that "his dollar buy 'a man or a musket to shoot one with.'"<sup>27</sup> Emerson was annoyed with the ineffectual Whig opposition to the Democrats who sponsored the war, and the great admiration he had long had for Webster, evident in so many previous complimentary entries in his *Journals*, began to wane. "Mr. Webster told them," he wrote, "how much the war cost, that was his protest, but voted the war, and sends his son to it. They calculated rightly on Mr. Webster."<sup>28</sup>

Emerson, of course, could not see the underlying causes of the Mexican War.<sup>29</sup> He did not see, for example, that the thirst for raw material of the New England cotton mills indirectly influenced the demand of the Southern cotton kingdom for new land. He was not convinced that cotton was important, as he says in 1847:

It is now said that the Mexican War is already paid for in the enhanced value of cotton and breadstuffs now to be sold by our people; and chiefly of cotton, a novelty, a single article on whose manufacture such immense mechanical powers have been concentrated that it takes the lead of all other articles of trade. Now I suppose this is mere ignorance.<sup>30</sup>

Northern industrialists did not agree, as many newspaper editors did not. The *Boston Post* of April 5, 1847, stated that the war would "do more for the spread of commercial and political freedom," as well as for the wealth and glory of the United

States, than any event since the declaration of American independence.<sup>31</sup> It was, in fact, in the North that the plan developed for seizing all of Mexico in order to "regenerate" her.

Emerson went to Europe a second time in October, 1847, but when the new *Massachusetts Quarterly Review* appeared in December his was the voice of the "Editor's Address," sounding again the note of optimism concerning the future of the nation:

. . . who can see the continent with its inland and surrounding waters, its temperate climates, its west-wind breathing vigor through all the year, its confluence of races so favorable to the highest energy, and the infinite glut of their production, without putting new queries to Destiny as to the purpose for which this muster of nations and this sudden creation of enormous values is made?<sup>32</sup>

Again, his statement might easily have been mistaken for approval of "Manifest Destiny," had he not added:

We have a bad war, many victories, each of which converts the country into an immense chancery; and a very insincere political opposition. The country needs to be extricated from its delirium at once. Public affairs are chained in the same law with private; the retributions of armed states are not less sure and signal than those which come to private felons.<sup>33</sup>

While he was still in Europe, the treaty with Mexico was signed on February 2, 1848. The fever of expansionism subsided, though its more radical advocates regretted that Cuba, Central America, and Mexico itself had not been added to the United States. Others felt that the nation's "Manifest Destiny" had been fulfilled, for "The United States, by acquiring Texas, Oregon, the Southwest, and California, added 1,200,000 square miles to its domains, virtually doubled its territory, and extended its boundaries to the Pacific."<sup>34</sup> And just as Emerson predicted in 1844, that posterity would not be concerned with the manner in which the nation had expanded, the problems of the 1830's and 1840's were forgotten in the heated arguments of the 1850's as the nation drew nearer to internal conflict.

Before the end of the reign of "Manifest Destiny," Emerson had lectured in many places in the Old West, his tours taking him as far as St. Louis. As Professor Rusk says: "He had long

been preaching national as well as personal self-reliance, but though he had visited the Old World twice he had never penetrated very deeply into his own country till now. In the West he traded his lectures not only for fees but for an education in American culture, supposed to be simon-pure only at this safe distance from Europe."<sup>35</sup> It was, however, many years before Emerson crossed the Mississippi into the New West that "Manifest Destiny" had added to the Union. It was not until 1871, when he was old and weary, that he visited California.<sup>36</sup> By that time the "retribution of armed states," of which he had spoken in 1847, had been visited upon the nation in the bloody conflict of the Civil War.

Emerson's objection to the theory of "Manifest Destiny" was a matter of means, not ends, for he too believed that the spread of American democratic institutions was inevitable. He believed that the expansion of the nation by armed forces was wrong; rather such development should be motivated by the ethical principles of "moral sentiment." His faith in melioration, that good can come of evil, allowed him to waste no time lamenting the cost of wars that short-sighted men provoked. When the nation had fulfilled the destiny so long prophesied for it and had extended its boundaries from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and when the growing time was over, he redoubled his efforts to point out by voice and pen that national greatness was to be achieved only through the self-reliance of individuals, that significant changes in the affairs of men and nations come only by understanding and following the "law for man."

## Notes

1. *The Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. by Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes (Boston, 1909-14), I, 160.

2. *Ibid.*, I, 246

3. *Ibid.*, I, 248.

4. In "A Letter to the Hon. Henry Clay on The Annexation of Texas to the United States," 1837, Channing calls the Texas Revolution "criminal" and says that citizens of the United States fought illegally in the war. Annexation, he adds, will mean "perpetual war with Mexico" and will "necessarily

give new life and extension to the slave trade." Cf. *The Works of William E. Channing* (Boston, 1849), II, 206-207 and 211.

5. *Journals*, IV, 424.

6. Ralph L. Rusk, *The Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York, 1949), p. 267.

7. *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. by Edward Waldo Emerson, Centenary Edition (Boston, 1903-04), XI, 94.

8. *Ibid.*, XI, 540.

9. V, 426.

10. Works, III, 16.

11. *Journals*, V, 531-532.

12. Works, XI, 534-535.

13. In *Journals*, VI, 389, he compares Washington to "The two poles of an enormous political battery, galvanic coil on coil, self-increased by series on series of plates from Mexico to Canada and from the sea westward to the Rocky Mountains . . ."

14. *Journals*, VI, 494-495.

15. Vernon L. Parrington, *The Romantic Revolution in America* (New York, 1927), p. 391.

16. Works, I, 370.

17. *Ibid.*, I, 387.

18. As quoted by Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny, A Study of Nationalist Expansionism in American History* (Baltimore, 1935), p. 119. This exhaustive inquiry into the origin and development of this phase of nationalism is based on a thorough study of newspapers, public speeches, and religious and literary writings from the Revolution through the Spanish American War.

19. See Emerson's description of the episode in Works, X, 427-438.

20. *Journals*, VII, 4.

21. *Ibid.*, VII, 27.

22. Rusk, *The Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, p. 308. For a more detailed discussion of Emerson's comments on the annexation of Texas, see my "Emerson and 'The Texas Question,'" in a forthcoming issue of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*.

23. *Journals*, VII, 30.

24. See Julius W. Pratt, "The Origin of 'Manifest Destiny,'" *American Historical Review*, XXXII (1927), 795-798; John Carl Parish, *The Emergence of the Idea of Manifest Destiny* (University of California Press, 1932), *passim*; and Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny*, p. 111. James B. McMillan, "Historical Notes on American Words," *American Speech*, XXI (Oct., 1946), 180-181, says: "Professor John Carl Parish traces the concept, but not the phrase, back into the eighteenth century, where it slowly developed without a specific name. Professor Julius W. Pratt in 1927 offered evidence, which has apparently not been questioned, that the phrase was first applied to the concept by John L. O'Sullivan, the editor of the *Democratic Review* and the *New York Morning News*. In 1839 O'Sullivan wrote, 'In its magnificent domain of space and time, the nation of many nations is destined to manifest to mankind the excellence of divine principles,' but he did not hit upon *manifest destiny* until he wrote [in the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, July-Aug. 1845], 'It is our manifest destiny to overspread the continent.'"

25. Pratt, *op. cit.*



26. *Journals*, VII, 206.
27. Henry S. Canby, *Thoreau* (Boston, 1939), p. 232. Emerson answered those who urged him to take a more active part in opposing the war. In "Ode Inscribed to W. H. Channing," he says that he cannot leave his "honied thought" for the "statesman's rant," though the "famous States" are "Harrying Mexico / With rifle and knife" (*Works*, IX, 76).
28. *Journals*, VII, 219.
29. Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier* (New York, 1849), p. 572, says: "The causes which impelled both nations to welcome the Mexican War were far from simple. Historians a generation ago who maintained the United States was goaded into imperialistic war by greedy slaveholders seeking more territory for their peculiar institution ignored both the psychology of the American people and the attitude of their government. Every patriot who clamored for Mexico's provinces would have indignantly denied any desire to exploit a neighbor's territory. The righteous but ill-informed people of that day sincerely believed their democratic institutions were of such magnificent perfection that no boundaries could contain them."
30. *Journals*, VII, 242.
31. Weinberg, *op. cit.*, p. 170.
32. *Works*, XI, 386.
33. *Ibid.*, XI, 389.
34. Billington, *op. cit.*, p. 585.
35. Rusk, *op. cit.*, p. 380.
36. For Emerson's favorable opinion of California, see my "Emerson and California" in a forthcoming issue of the *California Historical Quarterly*.

# The Parables of Alain de Lille

By MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

THE Library has acquired an extremely rare edition of the *Parables* of Alain de Lille (Alanus de Insulis), published by Antoine Vérard on March 20, 1492. It is the first French translation of the work, with the original Latin and provided with a copious commentary. The volume consists of a hundred folio leaves, printed in the handsome bâtarde type which Vérard had purchased from Pierre Le Rouge and which he deposited, after the latter's death, with the firm of Couteau and Ménard, the probable printers of the book. The most striking feature of the volume is the profuseness of the illustrations. No less than 252 woodcuts — mostly small, and often repeated — are scattered through the text. The large woodcut on the title-page represents the translator offering his book to a king on his throne, with a fleur-de-lis tapestry behind him and courtiers on either side. There is a long dedication in verse by the translator, who calls himself "a simple, rural vassal to Charles VIII." The Latin, he writes, is easy and he begs to be excused if he deviates from it. At the end he prays that all who want to follow the moral sense and truth of the parables may live above in Heaven.

In Latin, French, and German twenty-one editions of Alain's *Parables* appeared during the fifteenth century. Vérard's edition of the French translation is one of the rarest among them. Only nine copies of the book are known, and two of these are incomplete. The Library's copy, which once belonged to the Fairfax Murray Collection, is the only one in America. It is in perfect condition, with large margins and bound in crushed blue morocco by Lloyd. The first and the last leaves contain many inscriptions. On the title-page is the name "Papillon," which may belong to the well-known family of engravers. At the bottom one reads: "Ce present Livre appartient a moi (This present book belongs to me)," signed by "Baltazar Lescripuain fils de Jacques Lescripuain de Vosne." Baltazar's name appears again on leaf C1 recto, with the words "bon garson,"

Dung beau difeur ne en chascun cartier  
 Mais chascun quiert viure de son mestier



Ensequentement met l'acteur une autre parabole en  
 laquelle il enseigne soy Donner garde des blandisse-  
 mens & doulces paroles des homes qui sont deceptifs  
 Et dit ainsi par similitude que l'ouyseleur cest assavoir celui  
 qui prent les oyseaux dse de diuerses facons & manieres de  
 chant par lesquelz chants il abuse les oyseaulx tant quil les  
 maine et conduit par son doulx chant iusques sus les rethz et  
 gluons qui sont prepares et mis a point pour les prendre et re-  
 tenir. On les fait trebucher et cheoir soubz le reth et fille la ou  
 ilz sont prins et attrapes par la Deception et blandissement du  
 chant que l'ouyseleur leur contrefait. Pareillement Eng



which were apparently inspired by the text. The last blank leaf is covered by Baltazar's notes in a handwriting that defies deciphering.

Alanus de Insulis was one of the outstanding theologians of the twelfth century. Little is known about his life, and the fact that he has sometimes been referred to as Alain of Puy or as Alanus Porreus, and has been confused with a contemporary Alanus of Tewksbury, as well as with a bishop of Auxerre of the same name, has made the quest for biographical data all the more difficult. As far as is known, he was born at Lille in Flanders, about 1128. He probably studied and also taught in Paris. Later he must have been active in Montpellier; the dedication of his work *Contra haereticos* to William, Count of Montpellier, and that of his *De poenitentia* to Henry de Borges have been regarded as witnesses to this location. A thirteenth-century Dominican, Etienne de Bourbon, mentions him as reading (that is teaching) at "Montem-Pessulanum" (Montpellier), which accounts for his having been called "de Monte-pessulano." It is generally supposed that he entered the Cistercian order. He died in 1202, probably at Citeaux, where his tomb has been seen.

The reason that impelled Alain to enter the monastery has been told in a picturesque legend, given at length by the commentator in the present volume. He relates that the number of auditors who swarmed to Alain's lectures was "something marvelous." One day he promised that he would preach on the Trinity, explaining its nature, and it would naturally be supposed that many people would hear him. But God did not allow this to come to pass. For the day before, Alain took a walk outside of Paris along the Seine. He saw a white-clad child carrying water from the river in a spoon to a hole that he had dug; the place being sandy, the water immediately filtered through. Alain, watching with wonder, asked the child what he had in mind to do, whereupon the latter replied that he intended to carry all the water of the Seine into his little pit. Alain asked how this was possible. "It is as possible for me to do this," replied the boy, "as for you to explain the nature of the Holy Trinity which is incomprehensible even to all the Saints." Reflecting on the words, Alain recognized that they were those



of a messenger from God, signifying that he should not carry out his intention. So on the day of the sermon, he mounted the pulpit and said: "Sufficiat vobis vidisse Alanum (Be it enough for you to have seen Alain)."

A second episode is told as a continuation of the story. Because of the rise of a heresy at Rome, the Pope summoned all the scholars of Christendom to the city to come and confound it. The Abbot of Citeaux was among them. Alain implored him to take him to Rome, and the abbot consented to let him go along as a servant. When they arrived in Rome, Alain begged his master to allow him to enter the convention hall. The abbot protested that only prelates were admitted, but finally, hiding him under his cloak, took him through the door. Just then the heretics were defending their error. Alain now begged his master to permit him to take part in the dispute. The abbot refused, but the Pope, seeing his perseverance, gave him permission. Thereupon Alain presented his argument so brilliantly that the leader of the heretics exclaimed: "Oh, you have convinced us! You must be either Alain or the devil!" The abbot wanted to relinquish his dignity in Alain's favor, but he refused. He obtained, however, two scribes from the Pope who would copy for him all the books that he should compose. "The first of these," the narrator ends, "was the *Parables*."

To be sure, this work, known also as *Parabolae*, *Doctrinale altum parabolorum*, or *Doctrinale minus*, was Alain's earliest. Other works of his were *De regulis theologiae* and *Contra Haereticos*; the *Distinctiones*, a kind of Biblical lexicon, and *De planctu naturae*, a moralizing phantasy which has been compared to Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*. Alain's most famous work was the long poem *Anti-Claudianus*, which has been described as a medieval counterpart to the poems of Claudian against Rufinus. Sermons by Alain, preserved in a codex of a Cistercian library, have been published by Migne.

The volume produced by V  rard is a French book, and the spirit of the introductions, the vernacular verse translations, not to speak of the illustrations, is that of fifteenth-century France, even though the hard core of Alain's Latin verse is printed in small type in the margins. The Latin verses are indeed antique in structure and effect, a marked contrast to

Alain's Latin hymns, which are in the rhymed and singable style of medieval church songs. The metre of the parables is the classic hexameter, generally at the opening of the verse, and also pentameter. The distichs in the first chapter, consisting of two lines only, are notably compact. The metrical scheme is described by the commentator in Vêrard's book: "There are six chapters which proceed in different styles of metre. The first proceeds by two metrical lines together; the second by four, the third by six, the fourth by eight, the fifth by ten, the sixth by a dozen." It would be impossible, however, to describe the French verse by a similar arithmetical progression. At first the distichs are translated by neat quatrains with alternate rhymes. After about fifteen of these, the translator uses two stanzas instead of one, and gains a certain sing-song effect by repeating the first line in the fourth and the seventh. With the fortieth parable begin stanzas of seven lines, and already the second chapter shows a variety of verse lengths in the translations, ranging from four to twelve lines. From the third chapter on, the French verse appears frequently in three stanzas, one of twelve and two of eight lines, though other combinations are also found. Curiously, when the Latin strophes lengthen, the translator — perhaps from weariness — seems to contract. Needless to say, the French verse is not a strictly literal translation of the Latin; it is especially noticeable that when the Latin parable starts out with the concrete image and then turns to the moral significance, the French versifier may begin with the moral reflection and then explain it by allegory.

Though the French verses in themselves would seem clear enough, the prose commentary makes the meaning doubly clear, and by examples and amplifications provides a background for all this crystallized morality. Who wrote these glosses? The fact that the French translator speaks of "the commentator" helps to confuse the issue. A Matthias Bonhomme wrote a Latin commentary, published in London in 1501, in which the episodes told in the Prologue of Vêrard's book occur. However, an earlier commentator could have had access to the same manuscripts, and it may be supposed that the French translator used as a basis the Latin commentary which appeared with the *Parabolae* in Cologne in 1490.



Manitius suggests that the *Parables* may have been written for school-boys, and points out that they are drawn from proverbs and ancient poetry, especially from Horace. Nevertheless, it was a twelfth-century monk who composed them. The result is a mixture of worldly wisdom and medieval Christian asceticism. Only a few examples can here be noted.

A terse Latin distich in the first part states that one may catch numerous fish on a hook, but out of the mouth of a bad man one cannot draw good words. The French verse, characteristically setting the moral before the trope, begins:

De la bouche dung infame garson  
On ne scauroit tirer ung mot de beau . . .

Some parables reflect the social stratification of the twelfth century, which the fifteenth century had not essentially altered, as the eloquent French commentary testifies. Even as it is futile to pour wine into a leaky vessel, one reads, so it is hopeless to try to pour knowledge into a mind that cannot receive it. Master Alain, no doubt from experience, gives some good advice to educators: just as a physician prescribes different medicines for different maladies, so the teacher must consider the inclinations of his students, for some are more capable of learning natural science than theology or civil or canon law.

In another parable Alain warns people not to do any good to notoriously bad servants, for this would be as useless as "trying to find a knot in a circle." He holds up to ridicule one who all his life has been poor but by a stroke of luck has become rich and then tries to lord it over others. "Ridiculus mus (mouse)" the Latin parable calls him, and the French verse expresses the idea neatly:

Une chose digne de ris  
Est et ausi de mocquerie  
Quant une petite souris  
Sus les autres veult seigneurie . . .

Those who "murmur against their superiors" and rouse them to fury are reprov'd and their provocations likened to the pricks of a goad that infuriate a bull. People should not be judged by their fine and costly clothes but by their good conduct and virtues: a cook does not praise the excellence of a bird be-

cause of his handsome feathers! A parable castigates those arrogant persons who presume to a place that does not belong to them. One of these would be "the son of a laborer," who sports gay apparel that did not suit his station. "Similarly when we see a peasant dressed in the suit of a lord, a simple woman dressed like a young lady, we say derisively that there is an ass painted like a lion."

In one of the moral lessons Alain refers to himself by name. One blind man must not lead another, lest he lead him into a pit; "yet, though unsound, Alain has not been prevented from guiding men." The commentator here alludes to the episode of the sermon about the Trinity and Alain's intent to show his humility: "Master Alain does not complain of the pain of compiling his book, but that in the night and darkness of this world so few people follow him and hold the doctrine he offers them."

A number of parables reiterate the folly of attachment to the goods and pleasures of this world. The moralist especially reproaches the misers, who will not give anything in charity, who render "body and soul to the devil." Simony is linked with the sin of those who desire the death of their parents in order to inherit. The picture of a good companion is unique. "He who wants to be my companion," the commentator interprets Alain, "must be in every way like me and none other."

The woodcut on the title-page appeared first in Caesar's *Commentaires* of 1485, then in Sydrach's *La Fontaine de toutes Sciences* of 1486, and subsequently in the *Ethiques* and the *Politiques* of Aristotle, in 1488 and 1489. Macfarland in his bibliography has listed the woodcuts as they reappeared in successive works published by Vérard. Those in the *Parables* he describes as "often two or three juxtaposed, quite archaic and worn." He mentions a very charming little picture of a scholar, writing at his desk surrounded by books, whose profile, headgear, and robe resemble the familiar portrait of Dante. Then there are the rural scenes: a man swinging a scythe and another standing with a pitchfork over his shoulder; a peasant sowing his seed; a quaint garden with animals, fishes and birds; three men drawing in their fish-nets; a bearded man with a scythe in a leafy garden; men cutting down trees. One picture shows an individual in bed, with arm raised high, and a man and woman

standing in front as if discussing a problematical situation. All the woodcuts have a certain animation and story-telling quality. Interiors, costumes, postures, street scenes, men and women on horseback document daily life in the late Middle Ages. One can see a marriage ceremony, monks holding rosaries in lively conversation, a householder dining; a man, with his head in stocks, brandishing a sword; and — the merriest of all — a bagpipe player on a ladder.

The volume is a valuable addition to the Library's growing collection of fifteenth-century illustrated books.

# Lithographs By George Biddle

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

THE Print Department has recently acquired one hundred and nineteen original lithographs by George Biddle, the noted American artist, whose work has attracted the attention of museums in the United States and Europe. This important acquisition is a gift of the artist. It represents his entire work in lithography, and will add greatly to the rapidly growing assemblage of contemporary American prints which includes complete collections of such prominent artists as George W. Bellows, Frank W. Benson, Stow Wengenroth, John Taylor Arms, Charles H. Woodbury, Eugene Higgins, and Arthur W. Heintzelman, not to mention representative collections of other Americans whose prints express all techniques and schools of thought. It is also with satisfaction that George Biddle's name is included among the illustrious artists of England, France, Italy, and Germany who are all fully represented in the Print Department.

George Biddle was born in Philadelphia on January 24th, 1885. He received his A. B. degree *cum laude* from Harvard University, and as an art student he had good fortune in the friendship of the well-known American painters, Mary Cassatt, Adolphe Borie, and Frederick Carl Frieseke, who encouraged him during his formative years. He later studied at the Louvre, the Prado, and the Alte Pinakothek before serving in the United States Army during the First World War. After his military service he lived for two years in Tautiria, a Polynesian village in north Tahiti. This self-imposed isolation in the South Seas with its vibrant color and unusual subject matter did much to crystallize and formulate the direction of his artistic career.

George Biddle's work needs no introduction to those collectors and connoisseurs who know the graphic arts world. They find him among the most original of American print-makers, with a fresh and forceful point of view, which demands study as it develops the gamut of the conventional and abstract with surprising originality and creative force. In the handling of his

crayon on stone he leads us out of the past into the present, bringing us into a realm overflowing with ideas.

Biddle's work in lithography is a definite contribution to the renaissance in present-day print-making, which is built on the accomplishments of the past and a thorough apprenticeship. His composition in area-cutting and distribution of color value reminds us slightly of his earlier keen appreciation of Japanese prints. With this foundation and his knowledge of the old and modern masters, coupled with his individual personal style and a fertile imagination, he achieves an unforgettable performance in the use of the lithographic media whether in color or black and white, in pure line or in full tonal rendering.

In studying the Italian series, the Colorado Springs series, the Croton-on-Hudson series, the Mexican or Michigan series, we see an art quite free from European influences, and which does not spring from a studio behind closed doors. Biddle has studied nature; and he gives us the feeling that he keeps his mind alert and free, opposing nothing but the unnecessary details which ordinarily encumber a pure and simplified result. These stones display freedom of execution, strength, and spontaneity. His work stands out in comparison with so much in print-making today which has become academic by reason of its lack of originality and repetition in the same school of thought, particularly by students who stress technique and are being heralded prematurely as masters.

In the preface of a catalog of his work George Biddle writes:

And now may I express my present philosophy about the creative artist, be he painter or print-maker.

During the past fifty years in a world period of scientific pre-occupation, the techniques have expanded far more intelligently than have our uses of them. Most people will agree that the scientific concepts upon which nuclear fission was based had far more logic and beauty in them than the use to which the atom bomb was first put in the Pacific. In the world of art, too, Hiroshima may symbolize the end of an era.

It is not surprising that more and more since the turn of the century, art criticism has concerned itself with the new techniques; with new idioms of expression. In the fields of music, architecture, literature, and painting the excitement in the new forms has often outrun the interest in the artist's message.





*"Young Girl's Head," a Lithograph by George Biddle*





To a great extent during this period, artist and critic alike have forgotten that no matter in what medium they speak, life has always been and always will be subject matter of art. Good painting — line, color and design — is never enough. One can enjoy the sensuous refinement of the artist's craft; but it is what he has to say with line, color, and design that gives ultimate significance to his paintings.

Each artist, no matter how insignificant his contribution, will have some slightly fresh, new, and individual approach to life. This indeed is the greatest and most unique contribution of art to civilization: that intuition of the nature of reality, distinct from reason and of equal importance, which "justifies us in regarding art as an indispensable mode of knowledge."

The artist sometimes is unaware of the essence of his own intuitive outlook on life; of the nature and importance of his own contribution. In a certain sense this must always be the case. For a work of art, once created, has a separate life of its own. It grows or shrinks in importance as it spark-plugs men's ideas or ceases to influence successive waves of human thought. But at other times, when in their lives nations feel the need of art, when art is needed by society and so becomes mature, the painter understands the ulterior, critical, and prophetic meaning of his work, the intuitive reality that lies behind the conscious image of the visual world.

Biddle's range of subjects is a wide one, although the landscape proper is almost wholly absent. His talent and emotions seem to be aroused by compositional arrangements in which the human figure and animals play a great part. These he translates into lithography admirably, and in them he calls forth his finest efforts. He shows us that the primitive and the contemporary subject are of equal importance. Many of his lithographs have deep meaning with no exaggeration or overemphasis. His subject is always clearly stated, but the conclusions are left to our thinking, since his ideas are always above the commonplace.

Considering that a creative artist of George Biddle's talent can never be idle, we look forward to further achievement with crayon and lithographic stone, which undoubtedly will enhance the fine reputation that his able hand and creative mind have already established in the graphic arts.

## Notes on Rare Books and Manuscripts

### Thoreau and *My Prisons*

IN January, 1843, Thoreau wrote to Emerson, then in New York, giving some details of Bronson Alcott's near-jailing for non-payment of taxes. He told of his and the English reformer Charles Lane's resolution to "agitate the State while Winkelried lay in durance," associating Alcott's resistance to tyranny with that of the fourteenth-century Swiss hero. However, when Alcott (who was released when Squire Hoar paid his tax) appeared at the Lyceum lecture that night, Thoreau's "fire all went out, and the State was safe as far as I was concerned." Lane, whose sympathy with Alcott's theories had brought him to the United States only three months earlier, was not as easily quenched and "gave the affair a very good setting out." Thoreau's bantering remarks conclude: "But, to spoil all, our martyr very characteristically, but, as artists would say, in bad taste, brought up the rear with a 'My Prisons,' which made us forget Silvio Pellico himself." (Walden ed., VI, 52-53). In his 1849 essay, "Civil Disobedience," which records his own arrest in 1846 on a similar charge, after describing his night in jail, his release the next morning, and his subsequent generalship of a huckleberry party, Thoreau comments: "This is the whole history of 'My Prisons.'" (Ed. cit., IV, 380.)

The work to which Thoreau thus twice alludes was an internationally-known account by Silvio Pellico, Italian poet and author of *Francesca da Rimini*, of his ten years' imprisonment by the Austrian government. *Le mie prigioni* was published in 1832 and followed almost immediately by translations appearing in Paris, Brussels, London, and elsewhere. Within a dozen years of the work's first publication, at least three translations appeared in America, variously titled *My Imprisonments*, *My Prisons*, and *Memoirs of Silvio Pellico*. The American edition Thoreau is most likely to have known is one published in Cambridge, Massachusetts, by Charles Folsom, printer to the university, in 1836, when Thoreau was a junior in college. This was a two-volume edition, the second volume containing "Additions to 'My Prisons'" and a brief memoir by Piero Maroncelli, Pellico's friend and fellow prisoner. Another interesting feature of this edition is its preface by the redoubtable Cambridge worthy, Andrews Norton.

Although Pellico and his friends were arrested as *carbonari*, *My Prisons* is scrupulously non-political in tone. Its early chapters record the author's incredulity, which soon gives way to anguish, relieved in turn by the consolation of religion. His religious experience is marked by crises of skepticism and disbelief, but each period of doubt is followed by a period of more intense faith, usually stimulated by the natural kindness of his jailers and fellow-prisoners. Although his physical discomfort was extreme, Pellico is even more concerned with his state of mind. His eventual release, after nearly ten years in the political prison of Spielberg near Brünn, seems to him only additional proof of a benign Providence.

It is not easy to see what would attract Thoreau in Pellico's naively sentimental and pious reflections. Of course, there is no conclusive proof that he was familiar with the book itself; Pellico's fame was such that any literate man of the time would recognize and be able to make such allusions as those of Thoreau's. As one writer puts it, Pellico was "as typical a figure as the Iron Mask or the Prisoner of Chillon." There are, however, some passages in *My Prisons* which may be echoed in Thoreau. This, for example, on solitude: "By remembering that God is always near us, that He is in us, or rather that we are in Him, solitude became daily less terrible to me. 'Have I not the most excellent society?' I used to say." Another interesting passage is this: "Seeing human beings so seldom, I occupied myself with some ants, that came upon my window. I fed them sumptuously; they went to call an army of their companions, and my window was full of these insects." Thoreau does not mention Pellico in his own account of the battle of ants in *Walden*, but the example of *My Prisons* would have provided authority in addition to Kirby and Spence, Aeneas Sylvius, and Olaus Magnus. More significant than any particular parallel passage, however, is the general appropriateness of the allusions. Both he and Alcott, like Pellico, were political prisoners; in all three cases it was the government which had run amuck against the individual. Thoreau's first title of his own essay, later called "Civil Disobedience," was "Resistance to Civil Government." Therefore, when he concludes his account of "My Prisons," he is summoning from his contemporary reader the associations which have gathered about the name of a martyr in the cause of self-government.

Finally, there is the touch of irony in Thoreau's reference to *My Prisons* in a letter to Emerson. When he wrote, the only American translation of Pellico called *My Prisons* was the Cambridge edition described above. The association of Pellico with Andrews Norton,

whose preface commended the work for its piety and "artless expression of sincere religious sentiments and kind affections," cannot have been lost on Emerson, who within the past five years had been repeatedly excoriated by Norton as an example of "the latest form of infidelity."

JOHN C. BRODERICK

### Journal of a Civil War Soldier

ON August 12, 1862, Charles Henry Woodwell enlisted in the Fifth Regiment of the Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, drawn up at Somerville. He was mustered out on July 2 of the following year. The diary which he kept of his experiences in the Union Army during these months of the Civil War has recently been acquired by the Library. It is a small volume of 483 blue-lined pages, neatly written and bound in black half-leather.

Woodwell was born in 1828 at Newburyport, where he served an apprenticeship as a printer before going to work in Boston on the *Post*, *Journal*, and *Transcript*. At the *Transcript* he left the composing room to join the staff of reporters; late in the war, the *Boston Post* sent him South as a news correspondent. In partnership with Charles H. Doe, in 1869 he bought the *Worcester Gazette*, which he edited until his death two years later. An obituary in the *New York Times* credited him with "the invaluable power of condensation, and a ready pen."

By the fall of 1862 the initial response to the call for a volunteer army had slackened. Woodwell noted that of the 107 men who signed the roll at the time of his enlistment only 67 reported for training at Camp Lander. Once formed, however, the regiment seems to have been well-disciplined, losing only a few men through desertion. They had hardly reached camp before they were transported South on the steamers *Mississippi* and *Merrimac*. News of McClellan's victory at Antietam (September 17) and of Lee's retreat into Virginia had just arrived. On September 22 the President had issued his Proclamation of Emancipation, to become effective the first of the year. Woodwell's regiment with several others was bound for North Carolina, to occupy territory around New Bern and Goldsboro which, with Roanoke Island, had been gained the previous spring by General A. E. Burnside and Commander L. M. Goldsborough.

The diary unconsciously reflects the general state of the Army



of the Potomac in the early stages of the war: the hesitations and immobility of General McClellan, which compelled Lincoln at last to dismiss him from his command. Woodwell took a responsible part in the maneuvers of his regiment. And he did have a "ready pen," yet one which never ventured far from the daily facts. He described marches and camping in the wilderness, and skirmishes with Confederate troops, which ended in severe losses and the taking and parolling of four hundred prisoners. He recorded the changing of the guard, the coming of fresh troops from the North, the arrival of mail, the visit of the pay master (the pay was five months in arrears), and the sermons by various chaplains.

One notices the absence of expressed opinion about the issues of the war. The soldier noted without comment a service in a Negro Baptist meeting house, where the congregation was "wild with religious excitement, dancing, shaking hands, shouting and singing." Later he was in the home of a mulatto, having dinner after his release from an army hospital. "The family," he wrote, "consisted of a wife, four intelligent looking girls, and one boy. The appearance of the house and inmates was very neat, and the dinner furnished us was excellent." Once at New Bern the regiment had camped on the plantation of a "noted rebel." A typical entry is that of May 1, 1863: "Weather very warm. Rose at 5 o'clock. Breakfasted on hard tack, fried salt pork, goose gizzard, and coffee. Several of our mess went a short distance from our hut, Maying, and brought back very fine bouquets."

CORNELIA DORGAN



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THE  
Boston Public Library  
QUARTERLY

Volume 7, Number 2

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EDITOR: ZOLTAN HARASZTI

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# THE Boston Public Library QUARTERLY

APRIL 1955

## Longfellow's Reading

By EDWARD WAGENKNECHT

### 1

THE love of books is the foundation of achievement both in scholarship and in letters: no doubt some men have become writers without it but surely they are few. Even such "untutored," "unliterary" singers as Burns and Whittier have a way of turning out, under more careful investigation, as much less untutored and unliterary than they have appeared. But not many writers have had more of the instinct of the bibliophile than Longfellow.

The portrait of the Student in *Tales of a Wayside Inn* has clearly been influenced by Chaucer's Clerk, but Longfellow could just as well have described him from himself:

Books were his passion and delight,  
And in his upper room at home  
Stood many a rare and sumptuous tome,  
In vellum bound, with gold bedight,  
Great volumes garmented in white,  
Recalling Florence, Pisa, Rome.

Like — shall we say? — Longfellow's own set of the Bodoni Dante, which he found in Italy, lacking one volume, only to encounter the stray afterwards at an obscure shop in Boston. "He enjoyed handsome bindings and fine paper," writes Alice

Longfellow, "and took pains to cut the pages with the utmost nicety and precision. An ill-cut rough edge was a positive pain to him."<sup>1</sup> The dispersal of the Prescott library saddened him: the massacre of the poets, he called it.

It is true that, like other collectors, Longfellow sometimes regretted his purchases, and, in his old age at least, there were times when he satisfied himself by marking the catalogues but not sending in his order. All in all, however, he found book-collecting the most fascinating way of spending money man had devised, and the last of his passions to leave him.

His range as a reader was always very wide:

I have fallen upon books with a most voracious appetite [thus he writes Samuel Ward in 1839]; and have already devoured since my return three or four comedies of Molière, a strange work on the Millennium, twelve cantos of the Faery Queen, a Greek tragedy, the life of Cheverus, some cantos of Dante, part of Nicholas Nickleby, portions of Fairfax's Tasso (a grand book), and a good many of Goethe's minor poems.<sup>2</sup>

This range was not determined primarily by professional considerations, for it continued unmodified after Longfellow had resigned his professorship. On August 15, 1859, he records:

Read *Lutèce*, by Henri Heine; spicy descriptions of Paris and Parisian notabilities in the days of Louis Philippe. Looked over Christ's Passion, a tragedy, translated by George Sandys from Hugo Grotius. Also, Retif de la Bretonne's free French translation of the Latin poems of Roswitha, the Nun of Gandersheim.<sup>3</sup>

## 2

**T**O BEGIN at the beginning, there are surprisingly few references to reading the Bible, though Longfellow's poems present abundant evidence of his knowledge of it. Once, in 1848, he speaks of Fanny reading it to him of an evening — "the ever-beautiful story of Joseph, and his dreams and disasters and virtue and prosperity; and old Jacob's sorrow and death."<sup>4</sup> And once, much earlier, he had emphatically awarded the Bible the palm over the pagan classics:

I would not willingly confess that my mind was not attuned to the majesty of Euripides, the sublimity of Homer, and the beauty



of Virgil, Horace, and Tibullus; but it seems to me, that in so long seeking for inspiration at these fountains we have passed by one of purer and brighter waters. I mean the holy scriptures. What beauty and simplicity — what power, what majesty, what unutterable simplicity are there! Indeed, I would challenge all heathen antiquity to produce a passage of such power, as that which opens the description of the judgment day, in the 20 chapter of Revelations.<sup>5</sup>

Longfellow calls Horace his "favorite classic,"<sup>6</sup> as, indeed he should have been, having got his academic career for him and saved him from the law. It was because a Bowdoin trustee, Benjamin Orr, was so much impressed by Longfellow's translation of one of Horace's odes that the young man was offered a professorship conditionally, upon his graduation. When he was sick with 'flu in December 1872 he turned to Horace and Tasso for comfort. Professor Pritchard<sup>7</sup> finds numerous resemblances between Longfellow and Horace, both in theory and in practice. Longfellow mentions Xenophon, Livy, and Ovid also, and he read more of the Church Fathers than might have been expected of a non-theological scholar. In 1870 a week of Plautus left him very tired of "pimps, parasites, and debauchery in general."<sup>8</sup> His own Latinity in "Excelsior" was sometimes questioned, and he defended himself vigorously, both early and late. There was some study of Greek also, and in 1858 he comments unenthusiastically on the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus: "Cassandra's prophetic frenzy is grand, and so is the cry of the murdered King from within. But the whole seems to me heavy and obscure."

### 3

LONGFELLOW is much more detailed in his comments upon English literature. As a professional scholar he was called upon to consider Anglo-Saxon literature in some detail, but except for one or two not very significant references to Chaucer, he may be said to have begun as a reader with the Elizabethans. The greater number of his references to Shakespeare are made in connection with various performances he witnessed, especially the Shakespearean "readings" by Fanny Kemble which both he and Mrs. Longfellow so greatly enjoyed. After hearing one of these he interprets *The Tempest* allegori-

cally, in the orthodox nineteenth-century fashion. In 1853 he notes having read the "idle tale" of Apollonius of Tyre in the *Gesta Romanorum*, "a story on which Shakespeare founded his *Tempest*"<sup>9</sup> — a slip for *Pericles*. Once he wonders why Shakespeare called a play *Love's Labour's Lost* "when it was not lost" after all.<sup>10</sup> When his wife read *The Merchant of Venice* to him, early in their married life, Portia reminded him of Julia Ward Howe, and he was particularly impressed by the "perfect representation of a southern summer night" in the last act, which seemed to him the more remarkable since Shakespeare never saw Italy.<sup>11</sup> An unnamed newspaper correspondent has recorded that he preferred Leigh Hunt's sonnets to Shakespeare's. If this is correctly reported, Longfellow's own preference for the Italian form of the sonnet may have been the reason. The judgment is easier to credit in view of a disappointed reading of Shakespeare's sonnets as recorded in his journal in 1840: "Either I was not wholly awake to their beauties, or those beauties have been exaggerated."<sup>12</sup> Two years later he seems to put Shakespeare higher by implication when he speaks of Wordsworth's sonnets as the next best. Longfellow's most extended Shakespearean commentary, however, is this on *Hamlet*:

Read, with new delight, the wondrous tragedy of Hamlet. How beautifully his character and that of Ophelia are sketched out by the great limner; — developed not by description, but by the sentiments they utter, unfolding the soul leaf by leaf as it were. But there is too much murder — the tragedy is too tragical. This is a savage and ferocious taste in our forefathers; and their children have inherited it from them legitimately; — this same love of death on the stage. It is as bad as the taste of the Spaniard for a Bullfight. In Hamlet five expire in sight of the audience; and three behind the scenes. This is barbarous. But relieved by these dark shadows the genius of Shakespeare blazes forth with dazzling splendor. He seems to unite within himself the several excellences of all other writers; — grace, beauty, majesty, humor, truth to nature — and tenderness unspeakable. In no one man have all these been united in so high a degree as in him; and all nations — except only the French — seem to unite in bestowing upon him the laud they yield to none other. How the genius of man can soar higher, is inconceivable to me. It seemeth to me, that what he has done, can never be surpassed.<sup>13</sup>

There is very little else on Elizabethan drama. An undated

manuscript lecture on Goethe yields a slighting reference to Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*: "a very meagre thing." "The scenes are taken from the old tale, and wrought up with little art and if possible less poetry." One rainy day in 1859 he read *The Virgin Martyr* of Massinger: "Like all the old dramatists, too much in 'the great bow-wow style.' But in all the scenes where Dorothea appears, it is very beautiful, with lofty spiritual meaning. The last act is very powerful."<sup>14</sup> *The Faerie Queene* lay, as might have been expected, more within his range, and he read it "with infinite delight."<sup>15</sup> The style of Lily's *Euphues* seems to have influenced Chispa in *The Spanish Student*.

Longfellow's most extended comment on Donne is an account of a conversation with Lowell in 1846 in which they discussed what Longfellow calls his "Poems to his Mistress":

It is the one in which he describes himself as going to bed with her naked. I told him I thought it might be considered as rather wanton; to which he replied, "If it had been written by an impure man, it would be so; but as Donne was of a pure spirit so is the poem." Lowell is a New Adam!<sup>16</sup>

Amusing as this seems today, Longfellow's understanding of Donne was not contemptible for its time.

He had no serious doubts of Milton's greatness, though he once called *Samson Agonistes* dull. Dryden he praised for his "strong, deep-sea atmosphere," but "theological discussion in verse" carried to the length of "The Hind and the Panther" did not appeal to him. The Songs and Elegies he found "pretty tame sometimes; and then will come a line which flashes across the page like a train of powder."<sup>17</sup>

Wordsworth's *Prelude* "soars and sinks, and is by turns sublime and commonplace"<sup>18</sup> — still a sound judgment. The "Lao-damia" he found out of keeping in parts. A Grecian hero would hardly talk in such a strain of nineteenth-century moralizing. Longfellow's appreciation of the Immortality ode was lessened by his reluctance to accept the doctrine that we all possess "only second-hand souls."<sup>19</sup> In "The Defence of Poetry,"<sup>20</sup> however, he saw Wordsworth as in some respects an antidote to Byron:

We do not wish to make a bugbear of Lord Byron's name, nor

figuratively to disturb his bones; still we cannot but express our belief, that no writer has done half so much to corrupt the literary taste as well as the moral principle of our country, as the author of *Childe Harold*.

This was partly because of the tendency of minor bards to imitate the worst features of Byronism — "his sullen misanthropy and irreligious gloom." But though "the sobriety, and if we may use the expression, the republican simplicity" of Wordsworth "are in unison with our moral and political doctrines," even he, "with all his simplicity of diction and exquisite moral feeling, is a very unsafe model for imitation; and it is worth while to observe how invariably those who have imitated him have fallen into tedious mannerism."

No man of Longfellow's principles and temperament could have been expected to admire Byron without reservations; thus he finds "The Prophecy of Dante" "very ordinary, save in the grand passage of Ariosto and Tasso in the third Canto,"<sup>21</sup> and in *Kavanagh* he burlesques Byronic gloom in the person of Mr. H. Adolphus Hawkins, Poet. Yet there is evidence to show that he carried *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* about with him on his first trip to Europe. He has nothing of significance to say about the other Romantic poets, though he does declare of Shelley that "There are certain moods which his poetry meets and satisfies more than any other."<sup>22</sup>

For Tennyson he was as great an enthusiast as Dickens was. *In Memoriam* interested him as much as if he had written it himself, and the *Idylls of the King* are hailed as "King Alfred's new volume"<sup>23</sup> and "worthy to hang beside The Faerie Queene."<sup>24</sup> In an undated 1850 letter, Mrs. Longfellow speaks of him as reading *In Memoriam* "with eyes full of tears" and herself looks forward to reading it at Nahant, "with the melancholy sea chiming in as music to the dirge-like words." On the other hand, he qualified his admiration of both *Maud* and *The Princess*. He admired the songs in both works, but the jingoism in *Maud* repelled him, and his overall impression of *The Princess* was touched with vague, indefinable disappointment. He greatly admired *Harold*, especially the last act.

He seems overimpressed by Browning's obscurity. "A wonderful man is Browning, but too obscure."<sup>25</sup> Even *The Ring and*



*the Book* is obscure. It is reported that upon being asked which of Browning's poems he liked best, he replied "That which I understand best."<sup>26</sup>

Mrs. Browning, who was one of the great Victorian poets for Longfellow's contemporaries, whatever she may be to us, was accepted with fewer reservations. The *Drama of Exile* is "very sublime and wonderful"; the *Sonnets from the Portuguese*, though perhaps too intimate, are "admirable" — "rather dusky at times, but deep and impassioned"; *Aurora Leigh* is "glorious," "deep, impassioned, strong, and tender."<sup>27</sup>

Longfellow first encountered Matthew Arnold when Arthur Hugh Clough, in Cambridge, brought him Arnold's poems. He found them "Very clever; with a little of the Tennysonian leaven in them."<sup>28</sup> The next year there is a reference in his journal to Arnold's poems, "some of which I like."<sup>29</sup> According to Hall Caine, he, for some reason, supposed Rossetti the painter and Rossetti the poet to be two different men, so that, upon taking leave of, as he supposed, the former, during his last visit to England, he begged him to carry his regards to his "brother" the poet, with special compliments on "The Blessed Damozel."<sup>30</sup>

What, now, of the less famous English poets, where the temptation to standardized reactions is not so strong? According to his sister Mrs. Pierce, the young Longfellow was very fond of Ossian, "which . . . he used to read, and 'spout' a great deal," and later of Moore's *Lalla Rookh*.<sup>31</sup> In 1874, after not having looked at Ossian for forty years, he took it up again and found that it still claimed some of its ancient power. His admiration for Leigh Hunt's sonnets has already been spoken of. He enjoyed "The Palfrey" also: "It quite illuminated the room."<sup>32</sup> He delighted in Cowley — "this half-forgotten, much-neglected bard"<sup>33</sup> — and found Tom Taylor charming. Crabbe interested him considerably when he encountered him for the first time in 1848, though he was painfully impressed by his sadness. In his early days he was fascinated by Chatterton and tried to get Jared Sparks to print an article about him in *The North American Review*. On the other hand, he disliked Blair's *The Grave* for its dwelling on the charnel-house aspects of death. "Why write on such a theme as this, as if one gave credit to nursery-tales, and were writing to please a kitchen maid or the



daughter of a country tavern-keeper?"<sup>34</sup> He found "great charm" in the "well-rounded, ponderous periods" of Landor<sup>35</sup> and "precocity" and "wonderful dramatic power" in Beddoes:

He seems equal to any of the old English Dramatists — after Shakespeare; had fed upon them, is one of them — only born out of due time. And what precocity! I doubt if the world has ever seen the like. A little of the thunder and lightning school; — so were those old masters; — with rarest touches of sweetness intermingled; and wild lyric bursts of melody and madness.<sup>36</sup>

He thought Bailey's *Festus* wonderful in 1845 but could not read it in 1872. He disliked Southey's *The Vision of Judgment* and found Horne's *Orion* too cold. "It is a striking work, deserving much more fame than it has attained. But it can hardly be popular, for it comes more from the brain than the heart; and readers now demand passion, — at least, feeling."<sup>37</sup> George Eliot's "The Legend of Jubal" represented to him the confusions of the "new style" in poetry, which he rejected.

## 4

**A**MONG the eighteenth-century novelists, Defoe inspired some of Longfellow's earliest verses, and Sterne's influence would seem reflected in the story "The Little Man in Gosling Green."<sup>38</sup> There is one admiring reference to Maria Edgeworth, but it concerns *The Parent's Assistant*, not the novels, and has clearly been influenced by memories of early years. I regret to report that he seems to have felt that Jane Austen was too detailed and matter-of-fact to appeal greatly to imaginative readers.

Professor Lawrance Thompson credits<sup>39</sup> Scott with a large influence upon Longfellow, not only in diction and vocabulary, but in directing his attention to balladry and awakening his interest in European romance. Rereading *Marmion* after fifteen years in 1852, Longfellow was much impressed with it, especially the last canto, describing the Battle of Flodden Field. He was no less impressed by Scott's skill in describing battles when he reread *The Lady of the Lake* two years later, but this time important non-aesthetic considerations entered also: "How

much he has done to keep awake the war-spirit in England!"<sup>40</sup> In 1860 he read in translation Ingemann's *Waldemar*, a Danish historical novel, "with the history rather too prominent to make it a good Romance. But that is Ingemann's theory: — History in the foreground — Romance in the background: — just the reverse of Scott."<sup>41</sup> A preference for Scott's method would seem to be implied.

In 1849 he enjoys the characterization in Bulwer-Lytton's *The Caxtons* but complains that "the style produces upon me the effect of a flashy waistcoat festooned with gold chains."<sup>42</sup> He seems to have been much more tolerant of a kindred vulgarity in Disraeli.

More important than any other novelist, however, was Dickens, whom Longfellow admired for his genius and loved for his personal qualities. It required but one meeting, when the novelist first came to Boston in 1842, to convince Longfellow that Dickens was "a glorious fellow," "a gay, free-and-easy character, with a fine bright face, blue eyes, and long dark hair, and withal a slight dash of the Dick Swiveller about him." Before the year was out, Dickens had royally entertained Longfellow in London. In view of later developments, it is interesting that on both occasions Longfellow's admiration took in Mrs. Dickens also — "a good-natured — mild, rosy young woman — not beautiful, but amiable" — with no suggestion that he sensed any incompatibility between her and her husband.<sup>43</sup> The letter Dickens wrote Longfellow from Broadstairs, September 28, 1842, when he was afraid that he might have missed his visit through absence from home, is in quite his liveliest vein, and the birthday letter he sent him from Boston, on February 27, 1868, when he was too sick to keep a dinner engagement with him, is certainly one of the most charming letters of greeting that any man ever wrote or received. This was, of course, during the novelist's second visit to America. Like the first meeting, this was quickly followed up in England, and the whole Longfellow party was entertained at Gad's Hill in July 1868, which was the last time the two men ever saw each other.

Twenty-five years is a long stretch between even two pairs of meetings, and correspondence seems to have done little or

nothing to bridge the gap. But, like all the rest of the world, the Longfellows read Dickens's fictions diligently throughout the interval. Longfellow did not always admire. He accepted the strictures contained in the *American Notes* with good grace, and it does not appear that his comment on the *Pictures from Italy* as "all drollery" while Goethe on the same subject was "all wisdom" was meant to be slighting, for he also calls the volume "the finest and funniest" book of travels he ever read.<sup>44</sup> In 1844, when many of the Boston and Cambridge literati suspected Dickens of having written an article in which American writers in general (though not Longfellow), were roughly handled, the Cambridge poet refused to credit the report. But he found *The Haunted Man* "rather tedious"<sup>45</sup> and "The Wreck of the Golden Mary" much too tragic, while his comments on the various installments of the novels as they appear are up-and-downish. *Chuzzlewit*, *Dombey*, and *Dorrit* drew the severest strictures, and he greatly admired *Copperfield*, *Bleak House*, and *Edwin Drood*. There is an interesting comment on *Pickwick* when he reread it in 1861: "It contains all Dickens in embryo," he says, "as an Overture does an Opera: themes and motives just touched upon which are more elaborately developed in later works."<sup>46</sup>

Incidentally Dickens is the only novelist who can be suspected of having exercised an influence upon Longfellow. There is a good deal in *Kavanagh* which is quite in the spirit of Dickens whimsy: the description of Lucy and the baby at the beginning of Chapter II; the dismal clock of Chapter VIII — "gasping and catching its breath at times and striking the hour with a violent, determined blow, reminding one of Jael driving the nail into the head of Sisera"; the poet H. Adolphus Hawkins, whose "shiny hair went off to the left in a superb sweep, like the handrail of a banister"; and the ardent lover who sends his inamorata "letters written with his own blood, — going barefooted into the brook to be bitten by leeches, and thus using his feet as inkstands." Quite in the spirit of Dickens's animism is the behavior of the town at the beginning of "The Bell of Atri":

One of those little places that have run  
Half up the hill, beneath a blazing sun,  
And then sat down to rest, as if to say,  
"I climb no farther upward, come what may."

The same note is struck in the journals. When he received the first proofs of *Evangeline* in the cheap edition of his poems, Longfellow wished that a wider measure might have been used:

It certainly would be a relief to the hexameters to let them stretch their legs a little more at their ease; still for the sake of uniformity I believe they must still sit awhile longer with their knees bent under them like travellers in a stage-coach.<sup>47</sup>

When, in 1858, the news of Dickens's separation from his wife came to hand, Longfellow was saddened:

What a sad affair is this of Dickens. Immensely exaggerated no doubt; but sad enough at best. How discouraging it is, and disgusting, to see how eagerly and recklessly a fair reputation is dragged through the mire of the streets.<sup>48</sup>

But the tidings which came in June 1870 were much worse:

The terrible news from England [thus he wrote John Forster], fills us all with inexpressible grief. Dickens was so full of life, that it did not seem possible he could die, and yet he has gone before us, and we are the mourners. I know what this loss will be to you, and cannot speak of it. I will not try to speak of it.<sup>49</sup>

A week later he writes to his brother Alexander, "Dickens is seldom out of my thoughts. He is a great loss to the world."<sup>50</sup>

Dickens's great rival, Thackeray, got off to a much less impressive start with the American poet, who found *Vanity Fair* "clever, but not very agreeable; and at the end tedious."<sup>51</sup> *Esmond* fared better, as might have been expected, and so did both *The Newcomes* and *The Virginians*. By this time, however, Longfellow had both met Thackeray and heard him lecture. His first impression of the novelist's personality was not pleasant: "I do not think I shall care much for him. He seems conceited and of the Grattan Stamp."<sup>52</sup> The Longfellows did not bother to attend Thackeray's last lecture in Boston, though it was given on a lovely day, but stayed home and read De Quincy instead.

Comments on the Brontës are varied. *Villette* was judged "interesting" but "morbid," *Wuthering Heights* "fierce and wonderful," with "astonishing vigor of thought and style," all in all "a miracle."<sup>53</sup> Mrs. Longfellow was very enthusiastic about *Shirley*: one wonders if she was speaking for her husband as



well as herself when she declared in an undated letter that the "wonderfully vigorous and natural" style of this book represented "a great improvement on *Jane Eyre*. There can no longer be any doubt a woman's genius sounds those depths." George Eliot's *Adam Bede* puzzled Longfellow, for he thought it "too masculine for a woman, too feminine for a man."<sup>54</sup> This is interesting in comparison with Dickens's instant perception that this novel must be a woman's work. Many years later Justin McCarthy recorded Longfellow's having told him that when he met George Eliot

he was charmed by the friendly ease of her conversation. Like many another stranger, he had expected to find in the great English novelist a woman of cold, rigid, and self-assertive manner; and he was most agreeably disappointed.<sup>55</sup>

As for the "minor" Victorian novelists, as Longfellow and his circle probably thought of them, it appears that both the poet and his publisher tried to catch up on their Trollope when the novelist came to Boston in 1861. There is an undated note from Fields among Longfellow's papers in which he regrets his inability to lend his friend a copy of *Barchester Towers*. There are a number of moderately favorable comments on Charles Reade but no evidence that anything of Reade's ever took hold of him like Wilkie Collins's *Armada*: "'Armada' is becoming intense. The young lady in the red shawl appears on the borders of the lake as in the dream; and oh dear! how interesting it is!" When Charley lay wounded in Washington, his father read Miss Braddon's masterpiece, *Lady Audley's Secret*, aloud to him, all through a long June day, and it made the time pass swiftly and pleasantly. He was less enthusiastic about another Victorian lady novelist, not of the sensation school.

A keen analysis of woman [he remarks of Julia Kavanagh's *Adèle*]. But spun out — one perplexity after another — and no reason why they should end. The book is as long as Mme. Scudéri's [*sic*] "*Grand Cyrus*." The heroine always resting her head on her hand; and he is always looking down upon She — and She always looking up at He — and a tale that begins naturally and beautifully ends in the worst kind of fire-works.<sup>56</sup>

Like most readers of his time, he was much taken with *John Halifax, Gentleman*, by Miss Mulock.



## 5

THE American writers of whom Longfellow comes closest to considered evaluation are Emerson and Hawthorne, but the ones who had the largest influence upon him were Irving and Bryant. The "pleasant humor," the "melancholy tenderness," the "atmosphere of revery" in *The Sketch Book*, "even . . . its gray-brown covers, the shaded letters of its titles, and the fair clean type" fascinated his imagination, excited and satisfied his mental hungers. Having discovered it, he began to see New England customs in the light of Irving's description of English customs in that work. He imitated it in his projected New England sketch book, which Carey and Lea turned down, in the "Schoolmaster" papers, and above all in *Outre-Mer*, where the imitation extended even to format and method of publication.<sup>57</sup> As Higginson has remarked, "What Irving did . . . for England, Longfellow did for the continental nations."<sup>58</sup> As for Bryant's important influence upon his early poetry, this was acknowledged by Longfellow himself and has been commented upon by many critics, never more illuminatingly than by Professor Ward, who documents his findings by detailed references to individual poems by both writers.<sup>59</sup>

Frederick Saunders records Longfellow's praise of Lowell and Whittier, to which we have other testimony, then adds, "And yet more earnestly did he accord to Ralph Waldo Emerson his high meed of fame."<sup>60</sup> J. J. Piatt, too, says that he called Emerson "one of the very greatest of our poets."<sup>61</sup> After reading "Threnody" Mrs. Longfellow records, in an undated letter, her conviction that Emerson was a great poet despite all his faults. "His creative powers would alone set up a dozen others."

Longfellow himself seems first to have encountered Emerson as a lecturer; in this aspect he complains of his obscurity and lack of organization, his "*dreamery*."<sup>62</sup> In the lecture on "Great Men" Longfellow found "many things to shock the sensitive ear and heart," but a few days later, having heard Emerson on Goethe, he is moved to comment upon his great charm, and to label him "the Chrysostom and Sir Thomas Browne of the day."<sup>63</sup> They had tea together on February 4, 1846, and the personal impression seems to have been very pleasant. But Emerson's

lectures continued to draw mixed notices from the Craigie House. In 1849 Longfellow found a lecture on inspiration itself inspired, but two years later he "had not the most remote idea" what the Concord sage was "driving at" in his lecture on fate.<sup>64</sup> In April 1854 he heard him read his lecture on poetry in such "a very nonchalant and careless manner" that though the lecture itself "was full of brilliant and odd things," it was "not very satisfactory" to listen to.<sup>65</sup>

When the *Essays* first appeared in 1841 Longfellow reported to his father:

In literature there is nothing new, save Mr. Emerson's *Essays*, which have just appeared; full of sublime prose-poetry, magnificent absurdities, and simple truths. It is a striking book; but as it is impossible to see any connection in the ideas, I do not think it would please you much, and I shall not send it.<sup>66</sup>

His comment on the *Poems*, in his journal, five years later, is similarly discriminating, though not unappreciative:

It gave us the keenest pleasure; though many of the pieces present themselves Sphinx-like, and, "struggling to get free their hinder-parts," present a very bold front and challenge your answer. Throughout the volume, through the golden mist and sublimation of fancy gleam bright veins of purest poetry, like rivers running through meadows. Truly a rare volume! With many exquisite poems in it, among which I should single out "Monadnoc," "Threnody," "The Humble-bee," as containing much of the quintessence of poetry.<sup>67</sup>

There is an addendum to this as late as 1870 in a letter to Charles Eliot Norton: "... as Emerson sings (though you would hardly know he was singing), 'The Lord said, I am tired of kings.' "

Longfellow's difficulty with Emerson was, basically, his own "early Unitarian" outlook. The later development of Transcendentalism largely passed him by. In the first number of *The Dial* he found "affectation," "beauty," "wisdom and folly" — all in all, "a strange mixture."<sup>68</sup> But his specific criticisms are generally just, and it is interesting to note that upon at least one occasion contact with Emerson robbed him of respect for his own work.

I heard Emerson last evening on Plato [he writes Sumner in 1848] — a most curious cluster of fancies and philosophies some-

times deep and most suggestive, then wild, vague and unsatisfactory, but expressed with a beauty which ravished me. As I listened, I thought of the lotus-eaters. After him I feel almost a nausea at all that I can do — at my scarlet, green-burze, holyoke-flower stuff.<sup>69</sup>

His Bowdoin classmate Hawthorne, with whom he had never been intimate in college, Longfellow appreciated with entire adequacy from the beginning of his career, as his appreciative paper on *Twice-Told Tales* can testify, and his personal contacts with Hawthorne were quite untroubled also. "He is a strange owl; a very peculiar individual, with a dash of originality about him very pleasant to behold."<sup>70</sup> He got the story of *Evangeline* through Hawthorne and was always grateful for it. He praised *The Scarlet Letter* as standing "pre-eminent among works of American fiction."<sup>71</sup> *The House of the Seven Gables*, though less powerful, seemed to him to reveal more varied gifts. When *The Marble Faun* arrived, he broke his rule against night reading for it, "almost putting out" his eyes while Fanny and Charley went to hear Fanny Kemble read *Hamlet*. Italy, he wrote Emeline Wadsworth, was just the right country for Hawthorne to write about,

for he always sees everything in that magical twilight atmosphere, where fact merges into fable, which the prosiest person must find in Italy . . . His story has the same painful tone, deeper even than a minor key, which all his books have, as if written by a fallen angel, but which gives great power and true human pathos, if sometimes morbid, to his creations.<sup>72</sup>

(To be concluded)

## Notes

This article is a portion of the author's book, *Longfellow: A Full-Length Portrait*, which is to be published by Longmans, Green and Company. Quotations from manuscript materials included in it are made by kind permission of the Longfellow Trustees and the Harvard College Library.

1. MS: Alice M. Longfellow, *Reminiscences of My Father*.
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3. *Ibid.*, II, 343.
4. MS: H. W. Longfellow, *Journal*, Jan. 16, 1848.

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6. *Life*, I, 320.
7. J. P. Pritchard, *Return to the Fountains* (Durham, N. C., 1942).
8. Samuel Longfellow, *Final Memorials of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Boston, 1887), p. 133.
9. MS: Journal, Aug. 30, 1858.
10. MS: Journal, Nov. 13, 1835.
11. MS: Journal, Nov. 20, 1848.
12. MS: Journal, Apr. 4, 1840.
13. MS: Journal, Nov. 19, 1835.
14. *Life*, II, 336.
15. *Ibid.*, I, 320.
16. MS: Journal, May 29, 1846.
17. *Final Memorials*, pp. 160, 162.
18. *Life*, II, 175.
19. MS: Letter to Thomas G. Appleton, Aug. 12, 1856.
20. *North American Review*, XXXIV (1832), 56-78.
21. *Life*, I, 334.
22. *Ibid.*, II, 58.
23. Quoted by Annie Fields, *Authors and Friends* (Boston, 1897), p. 48.
24. *Life*, II, 341.
25. *Ibid.*, II, 190.
26. Quoted by Daniel R. Goodwin, *Longfellow Memorial Address before the Alumni of Bowdoin College*, etc. (Portland, Maine, 1882), p. 7.
27. *Life*, II, 193, 194, 290.
28. *Ibid.*, II, 233.
29. MS: Journal, July 22, 1854.
30. Hall Caine, *My Story* (New York, 1909), pp. 177-178.
31. Anne Longfellow Pierce, Letter to G. W. Greene, Mar. 17, 1879.
32. *Life*, II, 206.
33. *Ibid.*, II, 87.
34. MS: Journal, Mar. 29, 1836.
35. *Life*, II, 40.
36. MS: Journal, Nov. 4, 1851.
37. *Life*, II, 78.
38. Originally published in *The New Yorker* (1834). Reprinted in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, Mar. 2, 1912, and in *American Literature*, III (1931), 136-148.
39. Thompson, *Young Longfellow*, (New York, 1938), p. 345.
40. MS: Journal, Sept. 21, 1854.
41. MS: Journal, Dec. 20, 1860.
42. *Life*, II, 150.
43. MS: Journal, Jan. 30, 1842; cf. *Life*, II, 9.
44. *Life*, II, 44.
45. MS: Journal, Jan. 8, 1849.
46. MS: Journal, Mar. 28, 1861.
47. MS: Journal, Jan. 15, 1849.
48. MS: Letter to Charles Sumner, June 3, 1858.
49. MS: Letter to John Forster, June 12, 1870 (Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

50. The present writer plans a more elaborate discussion of "Dickens in Longfellow's Letters and Journals" in *The Dickensian*.
51. MS: Journal, Nov. 1, 1848.
52. MS: Journal, Nov. 13, 1852.
53. *Life*, II, 233, 314.
54. *Ibid.*, II, 345.
55. *Reminiscences* (New York, 1899), I, 202.
56. MS: Journal, Apr. 9, 1858.
57. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 132-135.
58. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Boston, 1902), p. 71.
59. In his unpublished doctoral dissertation, *Longfellow's Lehrjahre* (Boston University, 1951).
60. In R. H. Stoddard, *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow: A Medley in Prose and Verse* (New York, 1882), p. 239.
61. Piatt, *A Return to Paradise* (London, 1891), p. 161.
62. *Life*, I, 302.
63. *Ibid.*, II, 26, 30.
64. MS: Letter-fragment, perhaps to Sumner, Dec. 29, 1851.
65. MS: Journal, Apr. 27, 1854.
66. *Life*, I, 375.
67. MS: Journal, Dec. 26, 1846.
68. MS: Letter to his father, Oct. 11, 1840.
69. MS: Letter to Charles Sumner, Nov. 14-27, 1848.
70. *Life*, I, 300.
71. Quoted in Blanche Roosevelt Tucker-Macchetta, *The Home Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, etc. (New York, 1882), p. 26.
72. MS: Letter to Emmeline Wadsworth, Mar. 6, 1860.



## Notable Purchases

By ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

IT is a pleasure to describe here the most notable rare books and manuscripts acquired in the past year or two. They were bought from the income of various trust funds given just for such ends — for the purchase of “rare and expensive books and manuscripts,” “valuable and rare editions,” or, as the largest of them, the Benton Book Fund, stipulates, for the purchase of “books, maps and other library material of permanent value and benefit to the Library . . . books desirable for scholarly research and use.” None of the works has been acquired from taxpayers’ money; it has been, indeed, a long-established policy of the Library to use *only* trust funds for additions to the Rare Book Department. The present article, and one which will follow in the next issue, will discuss these recent acquisitions — medieval manuscripts, incunabula, Americana, rare Spanish, French, English, and Irish books, autograph letters, modern illustrated editions, and so on.

First come the medieval manuscripts, of which about fifteen volumes and as many single leaves with miniatures have been acquired. Perhaps the most important item in the group is an early English Book of Hours “according to the use of Sarum.” The Library already had seven or eight French and Flemish Books of Hours, but this is the first English example, and the earliest of its kind. The Use of Sarum — that is, of the old cathedral of Salisbury, which prevailed throughout the south of England as well as the greater part of Scotland and Ireland — agrees, in the main, with the Roman rite of the eleventh century. It differs, however, from the later Roman rite, since the British churches were slow to adopt the Franciscan revisions. English Horae have, therefore, great interest for the church historian, especially since hardly two manuscripts are alike, and all have some peculiarities not to be found in the printed versions. At least a hundred editions of the latter were published, some by Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde, and Pynson, but most of them by Paris and Rouen printers. The manuscript is

a welcome addition to the Benton Collection of Prayer Books, which includes several extremely rare printed copies and has been lately enriched with a copy of the Sarum Missal printed at Rouen in 1497.

The volume is a small quarto of 122 leaves. The first thirty contain the Hours of the Virgin. The service for Lauds includes "memorials" to St. Michael, St. John the Evangelist, St. Thomas of Canterbury (crossed out), St. Francis, Mary Magdalene, and others. Three inserted leaves (ff. 31-33) follow, with the "Salve Regina" and a Latin metrical prayer to the Virgin. Then come the Seven Penitential Psalms and the Gradual Psalms (ff. 34-41, 42-47). The Litany lists a number of English saints, such as Olaf, Alphege, Alban, and Edmund among the martyrs; Augustine, Paulinus of York, Dunstan, Cuthbert, Swithin, Richard of Chichester, and Botulf among the confessors; and Etheldreda among the ladies. The Five Joys are in French and Latin, and then there is a long French poem addressed to the Virgin. It fills six leaves (ff. 58-63) and begins:

Ieo vous saluz de par deu virgine marie  
Merciable dame duz e digne e pie . . .

The Office of the Dead includes only Vespers, Matins, and Lauds. The Commendation of the Dead occupies the next twelve leaves (ff. 91-102), written by another, probably later, hand. The rest of the volume consists of miscellaneous prayers and hymns in French and Latin. A poem in French on sin and repentance (ff. 109-110) starts out:

Beaus Syre deus omnipotent  
Mercie vous cry mut humblement . . .

F. 113 has two charms in English:

Crist that was born in bedleem  
and baptized in flum jordan . . .

and

Christ for clenesse of yin incarnacion  
ye merit of thi wondes blood and thi passion . . .

On f. 115 is a poem of three stanzas, not mentioned in Brown and Robins, *The Index of Middle English Verse* (New York, 1943). It reads:

Swete Ihsu: yat on ye Rode  
 Bouztest us with thyne blode  
 Lyfe withouten endinge.

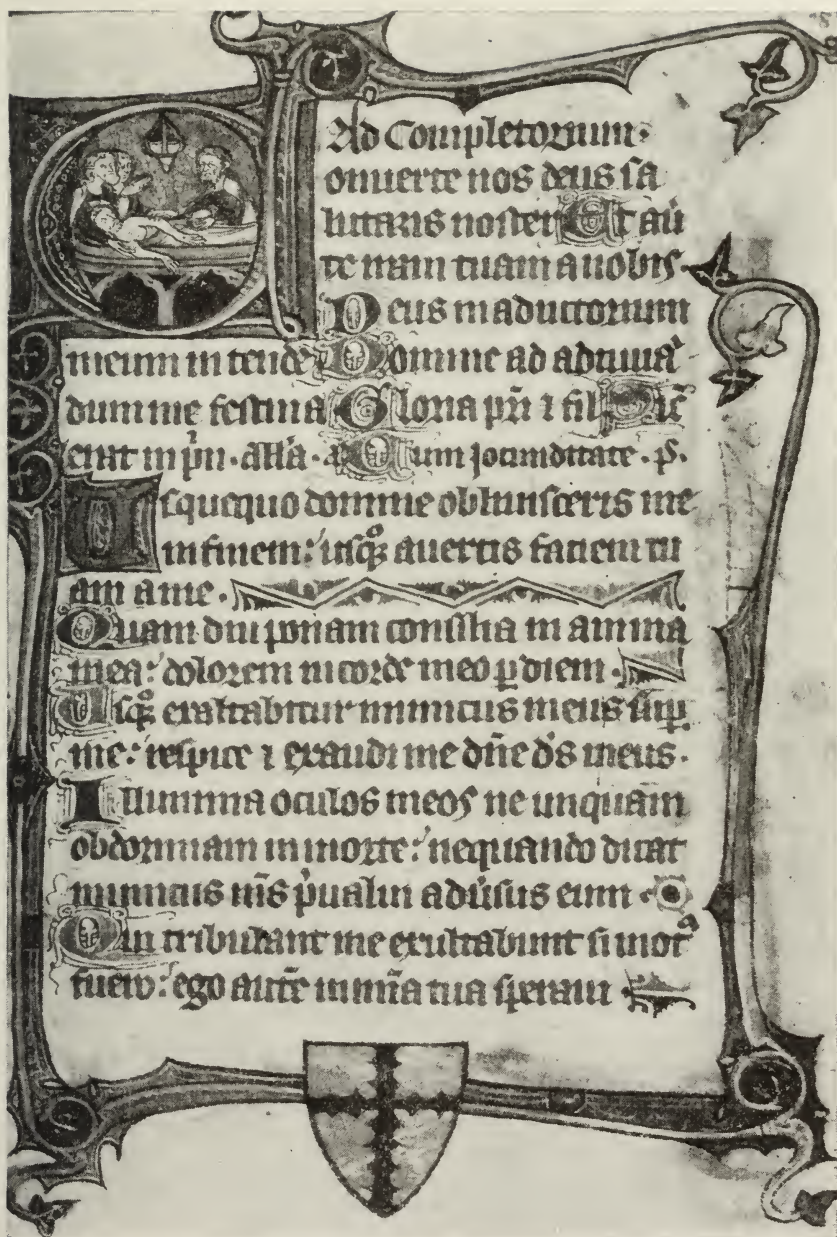
Grante oure Lyf clene for to lede  
 And ye Ihsus love and drede  
 Oure all thinge.

Lord at oure lyues ende  
 Grante oure soule for to wende  
 In to Aungeles Wonninge [dwellings].

The book is embellished by eleven fine miniatures, representing the usual subjects from Annunciation to Ascension, and by numerous small portraits of saints. Its most conspicuous features, however, are the border designs, one on almost every page and many ending in grotesque heads. At the bottom of the first page, a kneeling woman, probably the original owner, holds two coats-of-arms. Nine other leaves are decorated with arms, all of West Country families, but with elements which were used also by the Augustinian Abbey of Bruton, Somerset, and the Cistercian Abbey of Bindon, Dorset.

The larger number of the manuscripts are of Italian origin. Especially attractive is a fourteenth-century antiphonary of Bologna. Most books of chants are large folios, destined for use by the whole choir; but this is a small quarto which seems to have belonged to a member of a confraternity of the Holy Cross. The Book has 113 leaves, the last seven from a Pontifical. There are twenty beautiful miniatures: the first is the Presentation in the Temple and the last, the Crucifixion. Among some of the more unusual illustrations are Jesus Washing his Disciples' Feet, the Benediction of the Wax, and the Kiss of Judas. All are remarkable for the individuality of their design.

However, far more important artistically are the single leaves from big Siennese, Florentine, and Venetian antiphonaries, each with a miniature and all, with one exception, from the fourteenth century. Most of the miniatures measure about five by six inches. The Annunciation (in the initial M of "Missus est Gabriel"), with its background of storied buildings, is in the style of the murals of the Bardi Chapel, in the Santa Croce in Florence. There are two scenes of the nativity (one in the L of "Lux fulgebit" and another in the P of "Puer natus est"), and



*A Page from the Sarum Book of Hours  
Fourteenth-Century Manuscript, Reduced*







a magnificent Adoration of the Magi (in the E of "Ecce advenit"). But the finest miniature is a Descent of the Holy Ghost (in the C of "Cum complerentur"). The heads of the Apostles are drawn with consummate skill, worthy of the great Florentine painters. Similarly, the Last Supper (in the C of "Cibavat eos") is a work of high order. And so is the illustration for the First Sunday of Advent (the initial A of the "Aspiens alonge"), showing two Prophets as they behold the coming Power of God, foretold by Ezekiel. The feast of St. Zeno begins with a picture of the martyred bishop of Verona exhorting a woman tempted by the devil. The most conspicuous in the group is the miniature of St. Francis, St. Anthony, and St. Bernardine (in the G of "Gaudeat ecclesia"). The background shows a valley bounded by a ragged mountain. It is a large picture, eight by nine inches; but it dates from the fifteenth century and lacks the delicacy — and power — of the earlier pieces. Nevertheless, it is a desirable addition to the Sabatier Collection, the Library's unrivalled assemblage of books on St. Francis.

There is another picture of St. Francis, and a much finer one, among the acquisitions — unfortunately, cut from a leaf. A similarly barbarous mutilation of an early Siennese manuscript accounts for two other miniatures: the Presentation in the Temple, and St. Philip and St. James.

A rare example of the art of the Marches (*Le Marche*) is a small Office of the Passion. The region includes several provinces, and its chief centers are Pesaro, Urbino, Fabriano, Ancona, and Ascoli. The Marches did not produce "great" art; one of its most talented early painters was Allegretto Nuzi, who worked under the influence of the Florentine master Bernardo Daddi. Byzantine characteristics had lingered on especially in the more remote towns, the churches of which possess many little-known frescoes. It is with these frescoes — crudely realistic, yet not without sweetness — that the miniatures of the Library's volume have a kinship. There are sixteen miniatures in the book, the series extending from Christ in Gethsemane to the Burial. Four show, respectively, Christ before Annas, Caiphas, Pilate, and Herod.

The Library, which already owned a copy of St. Francis's *Fioretti* printed at Venice in 1490, has now acquired a manuscript of these charming stories. It will be useful to scholars for a comparison of the texts. A Rule of St. Clare, or of the Poor Ladies, has been purchased mainly for its full-page miniature, showing the Saint surrounded by kneeling nuns, while St. Francis, accompanied by two angels, holds a crown over her head. And there is a small Evangelarium from the late fifteenth-century, with fine miniatures of the Evangelists and their symbols. The four opening pages are further decorated by full-page borders enclosing cherubs, peacocks, rabbits, and flowers.

Among the secular manuscripts is a copy of Petrarch's poems, from the second half of the fifteenth century. The first page contains a vignette which is a real masterpiece. Apparently it represents Daphne pursued by Apollo, just before she is changed into a laurel tree. But the picture may have been inspired by the first stanza of the sixth sonnet, beginning "Si traviato è 'l folle mi' desio" translated by Mr. Joseph Auslander as follows:

So wayward is the madness of desire  
In following her who turns from me in flight,  
And who, at liberty, like air or light,  
My love-encumbered chase eludes like fire . . .

Three sides of the page are enclosed in a border of interwoven lines; and at the bottom is the coat-of-arms of the Strozzi family, to whose library the volume once belonged.

In the acquisition of medieval manuscripts, one of the guiding principles of the Library is to select examples of calligraphy and illumination not yet represented in the collection; another is a consideration of the contents. Both requirements meet in the neo-Latin work *In Cynthia*, composed in hexameters by Marcantonio Aldegati, a professor of poetry at Ravenna about 1480. Several epics of his have been preserved at Mantua, Modena, and at the Laurentian Library in Florence. *In Cynthia*, which, like the author's other works, has never been published, is a tale of love, full of mythological allusions. Cynthia, apparently a married woman, was the cause of her admirer's misery — "Cynthia prima fuit totius causa ruinae," as one of the opening verses states. She was "brighter and whiter" than

the day; yet she remained unmoved by all the laments and supplications addressed to her. The poem, divided into three parts and many cantos, was dedicated to Francesco Gonzaga, Cardinal of Santa Maria Nova. Whatever the merit of the verses, the manuscript itself, probably the only existing copy, is very handsome. Written in a fine humanistic hand, it is enriched by thirty large initials composed in the "knot-style" and painted in blue, green, and rose colors against a gold background. The first page, with the letter Q in the center and framed with a wide border, is splendid. The initials and the uncial characters of the title-page are products of the revival of tenth-century writing that took place in the Italian Renaissance.

A work of great interest for the history of medieval navigation is *La Sfera* by Gregorio Dati (1363-1436) a merchant and public official of Pisa, who had made several voyages on business to Spain. His treatise, written in *ottava rima*, is really a versified seaman's manual. It begins as a pilot-book containing information on landmarks and other details of importance to navigators; to this was added a pilot chart, and then a nautical almanac for use in determining the ship's position by the altitude of the sun. However, the work received its name from the preface, which deals with the earth as a sphere, offering some astronomical observations as a background for the use of nautical instruments. "With compass tempered by the star, the magnet toward the north," the author writes, "the mariner steers his course and, when he has deviated from it, rights the ship with the rudder. He lowers or raises the lateen-yard according to the wind, and when the wind changes, he has to be very alert, for suddenly there may be danger of death." One of the chief merits of the work is in the marginal drawings, which were probably derived from early sea-charts. According to the colophon, the Library's copy, fourteen pages of which contain diagrams and maps, was written at Pesaro, by Gaspar de Fidelis, in 1484. Gaspar was a good penman and his drawings of the towers symbolizing Nineveh, Cairo, Mount Sinai, and other places show considerable skill.

**M**INIATURES painted in *grisaille* — in various shades of

grey, without the use of gold — are rare. The Library, which possesses beautiful examples of the art in a copy of Tignonville's *Dits Moraulx des Philosophes* from the end of the fourteenth century, has been fortunate to acquire a *Passion of Christ* with similar miniatures, but of a later period and of a different style. The story is told in eighty six-line stanzas in French. Each stanza begins with an illuminated letter, and there are seven half-page miniatures depicting the Stations of the Cross. The first page is embellished with an illuminated border of flowers and leaves. Another volume of French workmanship is St. Augustine's *De Contemplatione Christi*, with a large miniature of the Saint kneeling before Christ who appears in the sky. In the background, a castle represents the City of God.

Two leaves from a French Book of Hours deserve notice because of the size and quality of their miniatures. One, from the Office of the Dead, depicts Job visited by his friends; the text is "Dilexi, quoniam," from Psalm 116. The other, from the Penitential Psalms, shows David preparing for battle; the text is "Domine, ne furore," from Psalm 6. The pictures are large, six by nine inches, with a Renaissance architectural border. The manuscript from which the leaves were taken, although it dates from the beginning of the sixteenth century, must have been a remarkable work.

One of the earliest items in the group is a German manuscript of the *Summa Casuum* of St. Raymond of Penafort. Born near Barcelona in 1175, Raymond taught canon law at Bologna; then he spent some years in Rome where, about 1230, he compiled his work. On the order of Pope Gregory IX, the *Summa* was used in the universities as the authoritative code of the Church. The first part bears the title "De Criminibus, quae committuntur in Deum;" the second, with chapters on theft, usury, rape, arson, homicide, etc., and matrimony, is called "Peccata in Proximum." The full-page frontispiece is a symbolic illustration of this last subject. It represents the "arbor consanguinitatis," extending to six generations, and is surrounded by two male and two female figures. These latter are displayed on solid backgrounds of red, green, and blue, and are shaded with colors to bring into relief the folds of their tunics and gowns. In its original doebinding, the volume is in fine preservation.



There are two more German manuscripts, both of the popular type and dating from about 1460. One is an Evangelary, a folio of 109 leaves, with over three hundred illustrations. The narrative begins with Passion Sunday and ends with the Resurrection, the compiler having expertly harmonized the Gospel passages with the quotations from the Church Fathers. About fifty of the pictures are scenes from the text; nearly as many show the Evangelists, and the rest are portraits — all drawn with free and easy strokes, the designs following the traditional pattern.

The other manuscript is a German translation of *Belial* by Jacobus de Theramo. The author, who later became Archbishop of Taranto, wrote his work about 1380. The story of the descent of Christ into hell between the Crucifixion and the Resurrection can be traced to early Christian writings; however, the adoption of the form of a law suit, "Processus Satanae," was a medieval development. Theramo's *Belial* departs from its predecessors inasmuch as Satan in it sues not the human race but Christ for having robbed him of the souls in hell. Solomon appears as judge, and Moses as the advocate of Jesus. After long litigation, Satan loses, and upon his appeal God appoints another judge, Joseph of Egypt. The case is now arbitrated by Julius Caesar and the Prophet Jeremiah on one side, and by Aristotle and the Prophet Isaiah on the other. Jesus wins again, but the umpires decide that the souls of sinners will fall into hell at the Last Judgment. The volume has sixty large illustrations in watercolor. Moses is usually dressed in a blue and Solomon in a reddish robe, while Belial appears naked, covered only with hair. (Both manuscripts have been described in detail by Margaret Munsterberg in the July 1953 and July 1954 issues of this *Quarterly*.)

Two examples of the "Carta de Hidalguia," although of a later period, may also be mentioned. The purpose of these documents was to prove the nobility of certain families — in order to gain exemption from taxation. In one of them Don Pedro de Fuentes and his four sisters petitioned the High Court of Granada to set aside the ruling of the town of Alcalà, defending their rank by a number of testimonies. It all took place in 1550, during the reign of Charles V. The volume, beautifully bound



in black leather with gold decorations, is quite impressive. The opening page includes a large coat-of-arms, a picture of the Virgin and the Child, and of a warrior on horseback — probably one of the illustrious forbears of Don Pedro — killing a Saracen.

The other "Carta," although it dates from 1723 and the reign of Philip V, is similar in style and substance. In it Don Francisco Perez Roxo contested the demands of the town of Villalon, before the High Court of Valladolid. Documents pertaining to baptism, marriage, wills, and so on, all showing the noble lineage of the petitioner, are included. One may add that the High Court confirmed Don Francisco's title of Hidalgo, granting him all the privileges attendant thereto. The book has full-page illustrations not only at the beginning, but also at the end. The picture of an altar, with St. Teresa of Avila standing behind it, while Don Francisco appears as an applicant, occupies the first page; the last has a portrait of King Philip. Quantities of such manuscripts must have been produced all over Spain; for this very reason, it is desirable to have these characteristic specimens.

The Library, as a rule, does not collect Oriental manuscripts. However, it has a few Persian items, among them a handsome copy of Nisami's *Khamasa*. It has now purchased a copy of the *Wonders of Creation*, a volume of three hundred leaves, containing nearly as many miniatures. This work of an unknown Persian writer is based upon the encyclopedia of the thirteenth-century Arab scholar Zakariya ben Mohammed Qazwini. It describes both this and the other world, the agencies of divine power as well as the earth, the seas, and all the known animals, plants, and minerals. The miniatures, especially those of the animals, are charming, and the calligraphy is very fine. The book was written and illustrated in 1580.

The nucleus of the Library's holdings of medieval manuscripts was acquired at the turn of the century, at the sale of the famous Ashburnham library. Little was added to it for a long time. Since the late 'thirties, however, a determined effort has been made to develop the collection. At the outbreak of World War II European booksellers were anxious to sell, and, through the accumulated income of the Benton Fund, the Library was in a position to buy many important works, manuscripts among

them. The collection has a number of distinguished items today; yet, compared with our great collections of printed books, it is still a minor one. And it still has conspicuous gaps. To mention an example, the Library, so rich in first editions of Spanish literature, does not possess a single Spanish medieval manuscript. The rounding out of the collection is not an easy task, for first-class manuscripts are costly, and even the less expensive ones are becoming fewer and fewer. It takes a good deal of search to find material which represents new aspects of the art of medieval book-making, has also desirable contents — and is within the financial reach of the Library.

The collection is modest, yet it is probably safe to say that, next to that of the New York Public Library, it is the most balanced and comprehensive that can be found in any public library in the country.

SIXTEEN fifteenth-century printed books have been acquired in the past year or two, strengthening the Italian, French, and German sections of that collection. Of the books printed in Italy, the most important is Jenson's edition of Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, published in 1472. The Library already had several volumes issued by Jenson, among them the rare *Decor Puellarum*, but these are small quartos which give little idea of the consummate skill of the great Venetian printer, one of the greatest in the history of the art. Besides, Pliny's *Historia*, a folio of 356 leaves, is one of Jenson's masterpieces, and the Library's copy is in an extraordinarily fine condition, as fresh and clean as if it had only recently left the press. The thirty-seven large initials — one at the beginning of each book — are exquisite. Copies of the work have at times been available for purchase; but it seemed that the book had to be acquired either in the best condition or not at all. Some years ago a large copy was offered to the Library, to all appearances a very satisfactory one, until one looked at the initials — with charming Victorian landscapes in the spaces left blank by the printer! The present copy, with its wide margins, shows Jenson's impeccable taste to the best advantage. Few works printed in the past five hundred years can compete with this product of the early press.

Without illustration, solely by the beauty of its typography, this is one of the most splendid books ever printed.

Another Venetian volume, the *History* of Herodotus, printed by Johannes and Gregorius de Gregoriis in 1494, is distinguished by the handsome woodcut on the first page of the text, representing Herodotus being crowned by Apollo. But the border of the page is even more striking. Venetian printers, ever since Erhard Ratdolt had worked in the city for some years, were expert in the use of woodcut borders. The one in the book is *in niello*, that is, in white on black, in a style imitating inlaid enamel work. The upper border encloses a cartouche, with the picture of a faun ready to slay a goat; one in the lower border seems to illustrate the legend of Cybele and Attis, the Phrygian counterparts of Aphrodite and Adonis, the gods of fertility. The typography is excellent. All Venetian printers benefited from Jenson's art in developing a clear and legible Roman type.

A similarly interesting item is Petrarch's *Trionfi, Sonetti, e Canzoni*, printed by Petrus de Plasiis in Venice in 1492. The folio is illustrated with six full-page woodcuts — two of the triumph of love and one each of death, fame, time, and God. They were adapted, with slight modifications, from a set of Florentine copper engravings. Their borders are, again, *in niello*. Still another Venetian book is the *Regulae* of S. Benedict, S. Basil, S. Augustine, and S. Francis, printed appropriately in Gothic types by Johannes Emericus of Speier in 1500. The volume includes two full-page woodcuts, the first depicting S. Benedict and S. Justina, and the second, S. Benedict, S. Placidus, and S. Maurus. (It was at the monastery of the church of S. Justina at Padua that, in the fifteenth century, the reformation of the Benedictine order originated; this is why she is associated with S. Benedict. As to S. Placidus and S. Maurus, they were among the early pupils at Subiaco.) The first page of the text of the Benedictine Rule is further embellished by a woodcut border, borrowed from the *Vita de la Vergine Maria* (Venice, 1499), which includes a Pietà at the top; torchbearers at the sides; and a shield between boys riding on griffins, at the bottom. The volume is in the original monastic binding.

Early imprints of Pisa are rare, for no more than twenty books were published in the city in the fifteenth century, and none at



m Inerua  
 autre  
 mēt dite pallas  
 tresnoble Bier  
 ge fut rēplie de  
 clarte si fameu  
 se ⁊ celebrable q̃  
 les sol ⁊ simples  
 hōmes lesquelz  
 viuoiēt ou tēps  
 de ladite pallas  
 ne creoyent pas  
 q̃lle eust naissā  
 ce humaine et  
 mortelle/aīs la  
 reputoiēt estre  
 plaine de Deite  
 Quidē hanc.

Ceste dame ou tēps du roy ogiges/ ainssy q̃ aucuns diēt)  
 se apparūt aupres dung lac le quel nest pas fort loing Des  
 perilz de mer sirtiens. ⁊ dela fut cōgneue et Deue premiere  
 ment en la terre. Et quoniam. Et pource que par  
 longue succession et traict de tēps les hōmes aperceurent  
 q̃lle faisoit choses lesquelles ne estoīent point acoustumees  
 ou parauāt a Deoir/non pas seulement les rudes hōmes de  
 la terre de ase/mais auecquez ce les grecz qui pour le tēps  
 excedoient et surmontoient toutes autres nacion en pru  
 dence et sagesse/creurent fermement que ladite minerua  
 estoit engēdree sans mere du cerueau de iupit ⁊ q̃ elle estoit  
 cheute ⁊ descēdue du ciel diuinement. Cui ridiculo.

Au quel erreur signe de toute derrision on adiouta tant  
 plus de foy et credēce que la naissance originelle de ladicte  
 pallas ou minerua estoit plus incōgneue. Hanc ante.

Les anciāns qui de ladicte minerue ont parle des louēges







all in the sixteenth. It is gratifying to note, therefore, that the Library has acquired a copy of the *Della Christiana Religione* by Marcilio Ficino, the first translator of the works of Plato and Plotinus. The book was printed by Ser Lorenzo and Ser Agnolo of Florence, who produced this single volume at Pisa, in 1484, before moving on to Pescia. The type is not identical with any known Florentine font. The volume itself is a reprint of the first edition of 1476, with the addition of a letter by Ficino to a friend discussing the salvation of the heathen philosophers. Ficino, a canon of San Lorenzo of Florence, never lost his religious faith; although he wrote a treatise about the Platonic doctrine of immortality, he remained well within the Christian Church.

The Library had several books printed by Antoine Vérard, but, apart from a Book of Hours, it lacked copies of any of the woodcut books which have made the great French printer-publisher famous. The want has been supplied by the acquisition of three such volumes. The first is the French translation of the *Doctrina Parabolarum* of the twelfth-century theologian Alain de Lille (Alanus de Insulis), published in 1492 in Paris. The original Latin verses are printed in small type, in a narrow column, to the left of the page; the French metrical version occupies the center of the page; and each section of this double text is preceded by a commentary in French prose, headed by two woodcuts set side by side. The classic hexameters of the Latin verses are usually rendered in French by quatrains with alternate rhymes. The commentary was adapted from the Latin glosses of an earlier Cologne edition. Almost the entire title-page is occupied by a cut of the author, offering his book to the King of France; it was copied from Aristotle, *Ethiques en Français*, 1488. No less than 252 woodcuts are scattered through the text, many of them small and often repeated. Their larger number were used before in Crescentiis, *Proufits Champestres*, 1486, *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, 1486, and the undated Valla, *Apologues*. Four other cuts, perhaps the most attractive in the lot, are from the *Chévalier Délibéré*, 1488. The copy is in perfect condition, and seems to be the only one in America.

Another typical product of Vérard's press is *De la Louange et Vertu des Nobles et Cleres Dames*, the first edition of the French

version of Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus*, and published in 1493. This book, too, is fully illustrated; however, the eighty pictures were printed from only eleven cuts! There is a Queen carrying a child, a Princess attended by ladies, a Woman leaping into the flames, a Lady nursing twins, etc., and there are two more woodcuts from the *Chévalier Délibéré*. Two tall cuts, at the beginning and end of the volume, are the pictures, respectively, of a bishop and a monk. The richly gilded morocco binding is by Chambolle-Duru.

The third volume is *La Fontaine de Toute Science*, by the "philosopher" Sydrach, a descendent of Japhet, the son of Noah! The book, probably composed toward the end of the thirteenth century, is a depository of miscellaneous medieval lore. The present edition (Macfarlane, *Vérard*, 110), published about 1496, is probably a reprint of the first edition of 1486. The work, greatly esteemed in the Middle Ages, deals with all imaginable subjects, from angels and evil spirits to problems of diet; its multifarious information is given in the form of questions and answers, of which there are more than a thousand. The volume has two large woodcuts, each occupying three-quarters of a page. The first, the author delivering the volume to a number of courtiers, is from the *Art de bien mourir*; the second, the author presenting his book to the King of France, is identical with the one in Alain's *Paraboles*.

ONE of the chief treasures of the Library is Caxton's *Golden Legend* — that is, the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacopo da Voragine translated and printed by the first English printer. It is a large folio of 449 leaves, and one of the few books illustrated by Caxton. The volume has seventeen folio-width and about fifty column-width woodcuts. In preparing his translation, Caxton used the Latin original as well as the French version and several English legendaries, enlarging the collection of the Archbishop of Genoa with the stories of English saints. Further, he inserted Bible passages into his narratives: the *Golden Legend* includes nearly the whole of the Pentateuch, and various parts of the Gospels, all from the Wyclif version, down to the quaint sentence in Genesis which later gave its nickname to the Geneva

Bible: "And thus they knewe than that they were naked, And they toke figge leuis and sewed them togyder for to covere theyr members in maner of brechis." Having owned this great book, the Library was naturally eager to acquire, literally at bargain prices, four other editions of the work — two in Latin and two in German, all lavishly illustrated. The texts and the different sets of woodcuts offer an unusual opportunity for a comparative study.

The volumes are slightly incomplete, but so are some of those in the Morgan Library and in the British Museum! And so are most of the copies of the Caxton edition! The imperfections, regrettable though they are, hardly impair the usefulness of the books. The first contains the Latin text, printed by Gunther Zainer at Augsburg about 1474. It has 140 woodcuts, with the repetitions, 162. William Morris, whose copy is now in the Morgan Library, ascribed the cuts to an early artist of Zainer's. "They may have the look," he wrote, "of being designed by an illuminator. Many of them are very pretty, and they are decidedly ornamental in character." The illustrations had been used five years before, in an edition of the German text printed by Zainer. The margins of the volume are intact; and the binding, dating from the early part of the 16th century, is decorated with the imperial arms — a double-headed eagle, bearing a shield with Saint George's cross. (Four leaves are lacking.)

The other Latin edition was published, according to the colophon, by Mathias Huss at Lyons on July 30, 1487. There was an edition of the *Legenda Aurea* by Huss dated July 20, 1486 — described as No. 588 in the Fairfax Murray Catalogue — the collation of which appears with the present volume. One would think that one of the two dates was a printer's error! But the editions are not identical, there are variations in the type-setting, and the woodcuts, although derived from the same source, are different. The large cut of the Resurrection, for instance, was taken from the *Légende Dorée*, the French version of the *Legenda Aurea*, published by Huss (in partnership with Petrus Hungarus) in 1483; this, in turn, came from the edition of the French translation printed by Phillippe and Reinhard at Lyons about 1480. The 1487 edition seems to have been unknown to most bibliographers; yet, according to Stillwell, there are two copies

in this country, one in the Morgan Library and the other in the Huntington Library. The cuts, which with repetitions total 180, are somewhat stiff, yet are well drawn and expressive. Unfortunately, the Library's copy is complete only up to the colophon leaf; it lacks the *Modus Legendi* which seems to have been printed with it. But bound in the volume is a manuscript, containing portions of the *Twelve Abuses* by Hugo de Fouilloi, a 12th-century French Augustinian monk, which had long been attributed to Hugo St. Victor. The book once belonged to the monastery of Ramsau, in Bavaria.

Anton Koberger of Nuremberg printed the German text, *Passional oder Leben der Heiligen*, in 1488 (Schreiber 4313), after he had published a Latin edition ten years before. It is a large folio of 387 leaves, with 254 woodcuts, each extending to the whole width of the page. Two of them are extra-large, with a height of seven inches — one, at the beginning of the summer part, representing St. Ambrose on his bishop's throne, surrounded by his faithful disciples, and the other, at the beginning of the winter part, showing St. Michael weighing a soul while a devil tries to tip the scales. In his *Manuel* Schreiber describes the woodcuts as those by a "superior master," greatly surpassing the earlier models; and Hind in his *History of Woodcut* discovers in them a resemblance to the illustrations of the Ulm editions of Lirer's *Chronica* and Terence's *Eunuchus*. The first two leaves with the table of contents are missing; otherwise the volume is complete. (The copy in the British Museum lacks the first three leaves — and all the last sixty.)

And finally there is *Dat Duytsche Passional*, a Low-German version printed by Lucas Brandis at Lübeck, or by the Brothers of the Green Garden (*Fratres Horti Viridis*) at Rostock, about 1485. This, too, is a large folio, containing 242 sizable woodcuts. The text was adapted from the High-German text published by Hans Sensenschmidt at Nuremberg in 1475, to which were added the lives of St. Brandon and other saints, with a chapter on the Passion. The woodcuts, which were taken over from Sensenschmidt's edition, reveal an artist of great ability. The settings, often a complete landscape, are usually sketched in. Bound in monastic binding, the volume is well preserved; it lacks 24 leaves, but it has the leaf of the Register, which seems



to be missing from all existing copies. There is only one defective copy of Part I in America — at the Fogg Museum. Incunabula printed at either Lübeck or Rostock are extremely rare.

FOUR more incunabula will be mentioned. St. Jerome's *Leben der Heiligen Altväter*, Part II, was printed in 1481-5 by J. Schönsperger at Augsburg. The text is preceded by a full-page woodcut showing eight hermits, and there are in addition 137 smaller cuts. They were used again by Schönsperger in 1487, and by Peter Berger in 1488. A distinguishing feature of the edition is the interpolated narrative about two monks, one extremely chaste and the other extremely obedient. The chaste brother conceived a great hatred for the obedient one. Once on a walk, they came to a pond which was full of dragons. The chaste brother spoke to his comrade: "Go into the water and wade ahead of me." The latter obeyed, and soon the dragons came and licked his feet and did him no harm. On their return to the cloister, the brothers found a corpse on the road. They prayed, and the dead man arose. The chaste brother boasted that it was on account of his sobriety that the dead man was living again. But God revealed all this to the abbot, who reproached the monk. "You ought to know," the abbot said, "that the dead man rose up because of the meekness of your comrade."

The *Defensorium Virginitatis Mariæ* by Franciscus de Retza, printed by Johann and Conrad Hist at Speier in 1485, is a small volume of thirty leaves. It contains 53 woodcuts, copied from earlier block-books. They illustrate such scenes as the Nativity; a magnetic mountain which attracts human flesh; a sarcophagus suspended between roof and floor; Lot's wife turned into a pillar; a shower of steel, and so on. If such marvels could occur, the author asks, why could not a Virgin conceive? The first and the last cut occupy full pages. One represents the Virgin before an altar, with a kneeling Jew (wearing a characteristic hat) below; and the other shows the Virgin offering an apple to the Child. The animal pictures — of goat, ass, pelican, salamander, unicorn, etc. — have, in spite of their crudity, an extraordinary freshness.

The *Horologium* of Bertholdus, printed by Creussner at Nu-



remberg in 1489, includes twenty-four full-page woodcuts, colored by a contemporary hand, showing the customary scenes from the Annunciation to the Last Judgment. And finally there is the *Historie vom Grossen Alexander*, so popular during the Middle Ages. The Library has acquired a copy of the German translation by the Munich humanist Dr. Johannes Hartlieb, printed by Martin Schott at Strassburg in 1493. A full-page portrait depicts the Doctor — or, more probably, Prince Albrecht, his patron — sitting on a dais; and twenty-seven smaller woodcuts, including three repeats, illustrate the victorious campaigns and fantastic adventures of the fabled hero. Most of them were copied in reverse, from earlier Augsburg editions. The copy, which formerly belonged to the Duke of Gotha, is in perfect condition.

Thanks to the trust funds, the collection of fifteenth-century books has been vastly strengthened. Up to twenty years ago the Library had about 150 incunabula, a few outstanding items (the first edition of the Columbus letter, the Ulm Ptolemy, and some rare Spanish books) among them, but their larger part consisting of Latin sermons printed in Germany. Today the collection numbers nearly 500 volumes, extending to all secular fields — literature, history, geography, mathematics, and natural science — and many of them in the vernacular. The typography of no other period has received, the world over, so much attention as that of incunabula. Following the principles laid down in the 1870's by Henry Bradshaw, the great librarian of Cambridge University, the subject has been studied country by country; within the countries, city by city; and within each city, press by press. Many of the books are without date, place and name of printer. It was the investigation of type faces that ultimately revealed these data, throwing considerable light upon local history as well as the migration of ideas. One may justly say that the Library's collection represents an unusually wide geographical distribution, including specimens of early printing from most countries of Western Europe. Moreover, at least two hundred of the volumes are woodcut books, some of them real works of art. For just as the early printers were former scribes, most of the makers of woodcuts were once miniaturists.

Our famous collections of Americana, English Literature,

and Spanish Literature were received as bequests, or bought at a nominal price, in the long past ; the collection of incunabula, however, like that of medieval manuscripts, had to be created from humble origins. The Library may be proud of its enrichment by these rare possessions. These "new" collections are widely used by scholars and by students of the arts of writing and printing. Frequently displayed in the show cases of the Treasure Room, they have, at the same time, an unusual appeal for the public.

*(To be continued)*

# Jewish Tercentenary

By ELLEN M. OLDHAM

**A**S part of the Library's celebration of the Tercentenary of the Jews in America, an exhibit of Judaica and Hebraica has been arranged in the Treasure Room. The scope offered for such an exhibit is so wide that one hardly knows where to draw its limits; in the present display all the important collections in the Rare Book Department are represented. There are works by famous Jews and important volumes by Gentiles about Palestine and the Hebrew people — the chronology extends from medieval manuscripts to first editions of contemporary authors. The geography of the printers ranges throughout Western Europe and the United States; and the birthplaces of the authors cover an even wider territory.

The earliest Hebrew manuscript in the Library is a parchment scroll of the Book of Esther, from about 1550. Another Megillah, read annually at the Feast of Purim, dates from the early eighteenth century. Written in microscopic characters, this little manuscript measures only  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches in height and is wound on a carved olive-wood roll. A recent acquisition is a charming eighteenth-century children's Haggada from Amsterdam, on vellum. The illustrations, showing ritual ceremonies and biblical scenes, are drawn in pen-and-ink with initials in gold leaf. Early Jewish astronomers and astrologers are represented by a fourteenth-century manuscript of Messahala, possibly an Egyptian by birth, who in 762 A.D. helped to survey the site on which Bagdad was built. Although only one of his works is extant in Arabic, the author enjoyed considerable renown in Europe during the later Middle Ages, and many manuscripts are preserved in Hebrew and, as in the case of the Library's specimen, Latin translations. The volume, once the property of the Abbey of Admont in Austria, contains also the *Liber iudiciorum* and *De electionibus* of Zahel, another Jewish-Arabic scientist.

Typical of the use of Jewish themes in non-Jewish manuscripts is the magnificent Beatus leaf of an early thirteenth-

century Flemish Psalter, showing in one half of the "B" David and Goliath, and in the other King David playing on his harp. A more-or-less elaborate miniature of the latter scene is to be found at the beginning of the Psalms in almost every liturgical book of the Middle Ages. The *Histoire Universelle*, a great vellum roll from fifteenth-century France, includes twenty-four miniatures of the Old Testament. The section displayed in the exhibit contains the pictures of Adam and Eve after eating the apple; their expulsion from Paradise by the angel with the flaming sword; and Eve peacefully knitting while Adam swings an axe "in the sweat of his brow."

The history of Hebrew printing begins probably with the publication of Jacob ben Asher's *Arba Turim* in a small town near Venice, about the year 1474. An important Hebrew press was founded at Soncino in 1484 by Israele Nathan, whose descendants carried on the business for over sixty years in France, Italy, and Turkey. An example of Israele's work on display is the *Sepher Ikkarim* by Joseph Albo. The author undertook to prove that Judaism was the only true religion, developing his theme by pointing out its fundamentals, hence the title, *Book of Fundamentals*. *Morch Nebukim*, the great philosophical work of Maimonides, was printed in Rome about 1480. This famous work by the physician of Sultan Saladin, the *Guide to the Perplexed*, was originally written in Arabic; it endeavored to solve the conflict between philosophy and religion or, rather, to reconcile the writings of Aristotle with the Scriptures.

Hebrew type, fortunately, never underwent the peculiar transformation that afflicted Greek fonts which, designed in imitation of a cursive hand, became so entangled with ligatures and strange forms as to be almost illegible. But in spite of the early development of movable Hebrew type, the use of occasional Hebrew letters, words, or passages in fifteenth-century non-Hebrew books was limited to letters cut in wood blocks. A striking example may be found in Peter Schwarz's *Stern des Meschiah* published at Esslingen in 1477. Schwarz, a converted Jew, achieved fame as the author of two violently anti-semitic books; the present volume deals with the birth of the Messiah and his rejection of the Jewish people. It is preceded by a short primer of Hebrew; but even the page which contains fourteen

lines of Hebrew was printed from a block, while the parallel German text was set up from movable types.

In the sixteenth century the best specimens of Hebrew fonts were used in the various polyglot Bibles and Psalters. The earliest of these — probably the first polyglot work ever printed — is the Genoa Psalter of 1516. It presents in eight columns the Hebrew text, a literal Latin version of the Hebrew, the Latin Vulgate, the Greek Septuagint, the Arabic, the Chaldaic and a Latin version of the Chaldaic translations, and the Scholia. The volume is best known for its note on Ps. xix.4 — *Et in fines mundi verba eorum* ("and his words to the end of the earth") — giving the first known account of the life and discoveries of Christopher Columbus. The first of the great polyglot Bibles was printed at Alcalà, in Spain, by Arnaldo de Brocar, under the patronage of Cardinal Ximenes. In the Old Testament, completed in 1517, the Hebrew text is printed with the Latin Vulgate, the Septuagint Greek, and a Chaldaic version with a Latin translation.

Both the Plantin polyglot Bible (Antwerp, 1569-1573) and that of Gui Le Jay (Paris, 1645) owe their Hebrew fonts to the French family of Le Bé. Guillaume Le Bé, a protégé of Garamond, was the most prolific cutter of Hebrew types in the sixteenth century, working for Italian printers as well as those of France and Holland. It was he who supplied Plantin with Hebrew punches, while his son engraved the fonts for Le Jay. Although a few words of Hebrew, roughly cut on wood, appeared in a book printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1524, the first important Hebrew font cut and cast in England was the one used in the last and most elaborate of the polyglot Bibles, that of Brian Walton (London, 1657), which included even Ethiopic and Persian versions of certain texts. In the eighteenth century, William Caslon, who exercised the most beneficial influence upon the state of English printing, turned his talents to the cutting of Hebrew fonts; twelve of these are included in his specimen book of 1785.

**I**N America, the appearance of Hebrew characters is simultaneous with that of printing itself, for the Bay Psalm Book of



דִּקְדּוּק  
לְשׁוֹן  
עִבְרִית

DICKDOOK LESHON GNEBREET.

A  
GRAMMAR  
OF THE

Hebrew Tongue,

BEING

An ESSAY

To bring the Hebrew Grammar into English,  
to Facilitate the

INSTRUCTION

Of all those who are desirous of acquiring a clear Idea of this

Primitive Tongue

by their own Studies ;

In order to their more distinct Acquaintance with the SACRED ORACLES of  
the Old Testament, according to the Original. And

Published more especially for the Use of the STUDENTS of HARVARD-COLLEGE  
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נִחְבֵּר וְהוֹנֵת בְּעֵינַי נִמְרָץ עַל יָדִי  
יְהוּדָה מוֹנִישׁ

Composed and accurately Corrected,

By JUDAH MONIS, M. A.

BOSTON, N. E.

Printed by JONAS GREEN, and are to be Sold by the AUTHOR  
at his House in Cambridge. MDCCXXXV.



1640, the earliest book printed in the British colonies, contains five Hebrew words in the Preface and the entire Hebrew alphabet in the 119th Psalm. As in every tentative introduction of Hebrew into the printing of a country, the characters were cut from wood blocks. In 1694 William Bradford printed George Keith's *Truth Advanced* — a book of Christian doctrine — the first New York imprint to contain Hebrew letters. However, no extensive printing in Hebrew was produced in America before the *Biblia Hebraica* of 1814, published in two volumes by Thomas Dobson of Philadelphia.

The study of Hebrew philology, consisting of both grammar and lexicography, originated as part of Bible exegesis, and as such found an outlet in the works of Christian as well as Jewish writers. Indeed, as far as printed materials go, the former are in preponderance. From the time of the Reformation, especially in Germany, manuals of Hebrew grammar by Gentiles or baptized Jews abound. The Prince Collection of the Library alone lists fourteen writers with works on grammar and nine on lexicography, often in several editions, printed before 1700. Johann Reuchlin, the great humanist, has been called "the father of Hebrew philology among the Christians," and his *Rudimentis Hebraicis*, printed at Pforzheim in three volumes in 1506, is the earliest item shown in this section of the exhibit. The first Hebrew grammar in English was published by John Udall in 1593, under the title *The Key of the Holy Tongue*. Wilhelm Shickard's *Horologium Hebraicum* enjoyed great popularity because of its brevity and clear arrangement. On view is the copy which Thomas Prince used at Harvard — well worn, and well marked with scribbles.

Although the study of Hebrew was part of the curriculum of Harvard College from its foundation, the first full-time instructor of the subject was Judah Monis, appointed in 1722 after receiving a Master's degree on the basis of a draft of a Hebrew grammar. Dissatisfied with the Latin-Hebrew grammars such as Shickard's, then in use, he introduced his own work into the classroom, first in manuscript copies — the one on exhibition belonged to Nicolas Bowes of the class of 1725 — and in 1734 in printed form. The Hebrew type was especially ordered from England, and to meet expenses subscriptions were taken in ad-

vance. A unique copy of the advertisement prepared for these, also from the Prince Collection, is headed by a Hebrew inscription which shows a specimen of the type to be employed, and states that the price will be eight shillings a copy, with a seventh given free to subscribers for six copies. The book appeared in an edition of one thousand copies, of which every sophomore and freshman was compelled to purchase one. Stephen Sewall, Monis's successor at Harvard, also composed a Hebrew grammar, printed in Boston in 1763, but the Hebrew types were destroyed by fire the following year and the work was not reprinted until 1802.

Hebrew dictionaries are represented in the show-cases by the *Thesaurus* of Sante Pagnino, published by Plantin at Antwerp in 1578, Johann Avenarius's *Liber radicum seu lexicon Ebraicum*, Wittenberg 1589, and a London 1646 edition of Buxtorf's *Lexicon* of Hebrew and Chaldaic.

THE contribution of the Jews to the life and culture of America before 1850 was discussed in some detail in the *Quarterly* for April 1953. In the present exhibit several of the early Jewish families are represented by material from the Chamberlain collection of manuscripts. Here is the application of David Franks for membership in the Library Company of Philadelphia, founded by Benjamin Franklin. On February 11, 1754, when the application was favorably acted upon, Franklin was present at the meeting of the Directors. David Franks himself, a leading business man of Philadelphia, was a Tory sympathizer during the Revolution, and his property was confiscated by the patriots. But a nephew of his, David Salisbury Franks, was a major in the Continental Army, and on display is a letter by Benedict Arnold to General Lincoln recommending him as "a Gentleman who has made every possible Sacrifice in the Cause of his Country, and who is worthy of your Patronage and Friendship." Prominent at Philadelphia was also the Gratz family. According to tradition, Rebecca Gratz, teacher and philanthropist, was the model for Rebecca in Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*.

In the 1860's the "sensation" of the theater was Adah Isaacs Menken. Never much of an actress, she achieved fame in *Ma-*

*zeppa*, in which she appeared in pink tights on a galloping horse! Besides acquiring and disposing of four husbands, she enjoyed the friendship of many outstanding men both in the United States and England; Swinburne wrote on the fly-leaf of his copy of *Infelicia*, a little book of Adah's own poems, "Lo! This is she that was the world's delight." From the Allen A. Brown Theater Collection is shown a program from Boston's famed Howard Athenaeum, where one could celebrate the Fourth of July in 1862 by seeing Miss Menken in *D——— in Paris* at the matinee or, in the evening, in the *French Spy*, in which she played the parts of a French lady, a French lancer, and Hamet the wild Arab boy, engaging besides in a "grand broad-sword combat" with her leading man.

Emma Lazarus, who died in 1887 at the age of thirty-eight, is best known for her poem inscribed at the base of the Statue of Liberty. Her second volume of poems, dedicated to Emerson, was entitled *Admetus and Other Poems* (1871). Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who gave to the Library his Galatea Collection of works by or related to women, has tipped into his copy a letter in which Miss Lazarus thanks him for his suggestions about her poems, feeling "flattered at the indulgence with which you criticize." A third famous Jewess, again in the field of letters, is Mary Antin, whose book *The Promised Land* is a monument to that flood of immigrants who came to America at the end of the nineteenth century. But long before this, her best known book, was published in 1912, Miss Antin had turned her hand to writing. Shortly after her arrival in this country, at the age of eleven, she wrote a long letter in Yiddish to an uncle in Polotzk, Poland, describing their journey. Two years later she made an English translation of the letter which, in 1899, was published under the title *From Plotzk to Boston*. Seventeen years afterwards she discovered the Yiddish original still in the hands of relatives in Poland. The interesting little manuscript is now on show in the Treasure Room.

Spain had a large Jewish population from early times, and both as scholars and as men of wealth, Jews often held positions of importance. The Ticknor Collection of Spanish Literature has many examples of literary works by Spanish Jews. Fernando de Rojas, author of the famous romance *La Celestina*, was



a converted Jew. The Library has a copy of the rare 1502 Seville edition. An earlier author, and of a different type, was Benjamin of Tudela. This twelfth-century merchant composed one of the earliest travel books. Setting out from Saragossa in 1160, he spent fourteen years journeying through France, Italy, Greece, Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, arriving finally at Bagdad, and returning home by way of Egypt and Sicily. His book, known in Latin as the *Itinerarium*, is of great importance not only for its notes on Jewish life and customs throughout Europe and Asia but for the history of commerce in general. The Library has a copy of the first Latin edition, published at Antwerp in 1575, translated by Arias Montanus.

In 1492 the Jews were expelled from Spain. Moses ben Baruch Almosnino, of a distinguished Jewish family originally from Aragon, was born in Salonica in 1510 and spent his entire life in the East. In 1553 he was elected rabbi of a congregation of Spanish Jews in Constantinople, where he died about 1580. Most of his literary works were sermons and religious treatises, but he was also the author of *Extremos y grandezas de Constantinopla* (Madrid 1638). The first book, as Ticknor noted on the fly-leaf, treats of the opposite extremes of things in Constantinople; and the two other books treat of the life and death of the Sultan Solymán. Leo Hebraeus (Abravanel Judah), from another old and wealthy Spanish family, was also a victim of the exile. Born in Lisbon, he was forced to migrate to Italy. A physician, philosopher, and poet, his most important work was *Dialoghi di Amore*, offering a system of philosophy with love as its cardinal principle. Written about 1502 and published in Rome in 1535, the volume went through five editions, being also translated into French, Spanish, Latin, and Hebrew. The Ticknor Collection includes an Aldine edition of 1552.

Space does not permit a lengthy account of the achievements of Jews in other lands. Nevertheless, representative books and manuscripts have been chosen to indicate the many fields in which Jews have become preëminent. Spinoza (1632-1677) was excommunicated from the Amsterdam synagogue for heretical opinions, but his philosophy was founded on a rationalized Judaism, combined with the systems of Descartes and Hobbes. His *Tractatus Theologico-politicus*, an eloquently reasoned de-

fence of liberty of thought and speech in speculative matters, was published anonymously at Hamburg in 1670 and was soon condemned by both Protestant and Catholic authorities. His posthumous works, issued in 1677, include a *Compendium* of Hebrew grammar. The Jews of Germany find recognition in Heinrich Heine's poems, of which the first volume, simply entitled *Gedichte*, appeared in 1822, while *Neue Gedichte* was published at Hamburg in 1844. One may find also an autograph letter by the composer Felix Mendelssohn, whose family traced its origin from a Jewish schoolmaster of Dresden named Mendel, and whose grandfather was the philosopher Moses Mendelssohn, immortalized in Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*. In modern times the late Albert Einstein, although a naturalized American citizen since 1940, is represented by one of his early publications, *Die Grundlage der allgemeinen Relativitätstheorie* (Leipzig, 1916).

The *Apologia por la noble nacion de los Iudios* (London 1649), the little pamphlet described in the October 1954 issue of the Boston Public Library *Quarterly*, is connected with the Jews of Engand. The tract, a gift from Mr. Lee M. Friedman, a member of the Board of Trustees of the Boston Public Library, is a Spanish translation of *An apology for the honorable nation of the Jews and all the sons of Israel* by Edward Nicholas, who was pleading for the re-admission of the Jews, expelled from England in 1290. Eventually the plea resulted in the full political emancipation of the Jews, as shown by the career of Benjamin D'Israeli, Lord Beaconsfield, for years Prime Minister of England. His novel *The Young Duke* is on display, in the first American edition printed in New York in 1831. Isaac D'Israeli, Lord Beaconsfield's father, was also a prolific author, his best-known work being *Curiosities of Literature*, a collection of anecdotes. On exhibition is a short note to his publishers, from March 1833, the year in which he issued his *Genius of Judaism*.

**M**ANY Gentile writers have found inspiration in subjects of Jewish interest other than those connected with Bible exegesis and the study of the Old Testament. Among these is a long series of narratives dealing with travels to the Holy Land. In 1483 Bernhard von Breydenbach, Dean of the Cathedral of

Mainz, set out to lead a pilgrimage to Palestine. Upon his return he published his *Peregrinationes in Terram Sanctam* (Mainz 1486), the first book in which the pictures of towns, people, and animals were all drawn from life. Among the plates is a six-page-long folding panorama of Jerusalem, with the clearly distinguishable landmarks of the Temple of Solomon and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Erhard Reuwich, who was both illustrator and printer, went on the journey for the specific purpose of making pictures.

Among the maps included in the *Geographia* of Francesco Berlinghieri (Florence 1482) — a versified Italian adaptation of Ptolemy's great work — appears a new map of Palestine, which, with three others in the volume, has been called by the Swedish explorer Nordenskiöld "the first germ of modern cartography." Another early map of the country, the earliest non-Ptolemaic map to appear in print, is reproduced in *La Mer des Histoires*, Paris 1536. In the center is Jerusalem, surrounded by towers and bastions. Moses is shown receiving the tablets on Mount Sinai, while below are the winding shores of the Red Sea with hosts of drowning Egyptians. In later times, Lamartine was among those who traveled in the Holy Land. His recollections appeared in English under the title *A Pilgrimage to the Holy Land* and went through many editions.

The greatest interest of Christian writers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was not so much in the history of the Jews as in their conversion and the location of the "Lost Ten Tribes of Israel." For it was believed, especially among the Puritans, that the Millenium, of which the calling together of the Jews was a necessary concomittant, was at hand. Increase and Cotton Mather, Samuel Sewall, and Samuel Willard were among the New England divines most concerned with the idea, and it became a matter of serious belief that the Indians of North America were the long-looked-for lost tribes. Menassah ben Israel wrote on this subject in Holland, and Gottlieb Spietzel replied to him from Germany; the Reverend Thomas Thorowgood of Norfolk, England, endeavored to raise money for John Eliot in Massachusetts by his *Iewes in America, or, Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race*; and James Adair devoted more than two hundred pages of his *History of the*

*American Indians* to a discussion of their descent from the Jews.

From the nearly one hundred books on display one might choose many more for mention. Among them is a *History of the Jews* by Hannah Adams, America's first professional woman writer; *Defence of the National Democracy against the Attack of Judge Douglas*, a speech by Judah P. Benjamin, later Secretary of State of the Confederacy; and M. M. Cohen's account of the campaign against the Seminole Indians, entitled *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns*.

The exhibit will remain on view till June 1.

# Le Retour de l'Enfant Prodigue

## Original Drawing by Jean-Louis Forain

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

THE Print Department of the Boston Public Library possesses one of the finest, if not *the* finest, representative collections of Jean-Louis Forain's etchings, lithographs, and drawings. To obtain an almost complete representation, with many proof prints, states, and working drawings, is the ambition of any museum or private collector interested in the work of Forain.

It has been the policy of the Library to build on the magnificent collection already in its possession, wherever possible. Perhaps the greatest addition since the original gift by the late Mr. Albert H. Wiggin has been "Le Retour de l'Enfant Prodigue" in the medium of drawing.

The Library's collection of drawings by Jean-Louis Forain is proving itself of greater importance with each new acquisition, many of which are studies for his etchings, drypoints, and lithographs. These unusually rich records provide rare opportunities for the interested connoisseur and the uninitiated visitor. This side of Forain's art appeals more fully, not only for its association with his prints, but for his masterly handling of crayon and free brush.

Forain's later, or second, period, 1908-1910, produced the famous Courtroom Scenes, the Lourdes Series, and religious subjects. This second period of only two years was one of great industry as it produced the whole series of ninety-four etchings and numerous drawings of capital importance in technical as well as artistic achievement. They reveal his great talent, creating amazing effects of mass, contour, and solidity, while the large white spaces act as vibrant notes in support of the drawn areas which heighten the full meaning of his subject.

Among the religious prints one may find his famous "Le Retour de l'Enfant Prodigue," the second state of the fourth plate, which is considered a classic by contemporary experts in the





*"Le Retour de l'Enfant Prodigue," A Drawing by Jean-Louis Forain (Reduced)*



graphic arts. The Print Department has been most fortunate in the recent acquisition of an original conté crayon drawing of the subject, and, since it is already the proud possessor of the oil painting from which both the drawing and the etching were made, this fine demonstration of Forain's art from his best period is important in the print world.

This large oblong composition is the result of three experiments on copper. The scant, direct, and simple means employed in rendering the background support the two central figures to perfection. There is a grandeur and human appeal in the intensity and sureness of the free technique in line; and it is obvious that the tonal shadings in the strokes of the crayon are the leading idea of this masterful subject.

As to the theme itself, there are few among the representations of this well-known subject in recent times that can compare with Forain's version, for he reaches his greatest heights in both the etching and drawing. Every line is important in imbuing the simple expression with deep and dramatic meaning. The kneeling figure of the erring son expresses everything. Even the hat and stick cast down on the road explain fully the great suffering and sincere repentance of the prodigal in the dramatic meeting with his father.

It is interesting to note that in evoking the New Testament scenes and making them live again, Forain has undertaken one of the most difficult subjects in the whole range of art. Any artist attempting religious themes challenges the Old Masters in a field which drew mightily from their artistic powers, and thus naturally exposes himself to comparison. Forain has modernized these subjects, as this drawing will affirm, as though in an endeavor to make us reflect upon the deep meaning of the Gospel story. The beautiful lines and arresting composition in this latest acquisition of the repentant son and the father embracing him in his tender care display the artist's profound knowledge and experience.

Considering the quality of the drawing from a technical standpoint, many will perhaps compare it to the work of Rembrandt, in handling, achievement, and choice of subject. That Forain was influenced by the great Dutch master earlier in his development is well known. Admiration for Rembrandt's work

remained with him throughout his long and active career. However, this does not account for the depth of feeling and sympathy which he instills in his subject, but rather it sums up his own entire *oeuvre*.

In final analysis, one can safely say that this extraordinary example of his later efforts gives us a valuable index to a right understanding of Forain the artist, and, in particular, a true comprehension of his life's work which was ever deepening and penetrating into the psychology of human nature. His preoccupation with chiaroscuro produced, with original technique, the characteristic and individual expression approached only by few of his contemporaries. Primarily a workman, but with the dexterity of a master painter, he was served well; his keen intuition was closely attuned to the hidden mysteries within. Forain's mind encompassed the complex interweaving of human emotions, and his sympathies were responsive to the suffering and unhappiness of his people.

In this demonstration Forain gives us "Le Retour de l'Enfant Prodigue," an example of his ceaseless quest to know the mysteries of life. He has found the most forceful method of expression through the medium of drawing for us to interpret.

## Notes on Rare Books and Manuscripts

### An Uncollected Poem by Oliver Wendell Holmes

**A**LMOST as soon as he began to write, Oliver Wendell Holmes won a wide audience for his verses. They were copied and re-copied in newspapers all over the country; and Miss Eleanor M. Tilton has told of "a Kentuckian [who] wrote to a magazine to confess that he had carried around in his hat for years newspaper clippings of some of Holmes's poems."<sup>1</sup> In similar fashion, many other readers must have cut out verses that struck their fancy; and, indeed, the present writer has recently discovered a yellowed clipping that preserves a poem by Holmes which is unknown to modern scholarship.<sup>2</sup> The poem is printed here:

#### The "Best Room."

There was a parlor in the house, a room  
To make you shudder with its prudish gloom,  
The furniture stood round with such an air,  
There seemed an old maid's ghost in every chair;  
Each looked as it had scuttled to its place,  
And pulled extempore a Sunday face,  
Too snugly<sup>3</sup> proper for a world of sin,  
Like boys on whom the minister comes in.  
The table fronting you with icy stare,  
Strove to look witless that its legs were bare,  
While the black sofa, with its horse-hair pall,  
Looked like the bier for comfort's funeral.  
Two pictures graced the wall in grimmest truth,

1. *Amiable Autocrat: a Biography of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes* (New York, 1947), 64.

2. The clipping is owned by Dr. and Mrs. R. M. Jernigan of Springdale, Arkansas. It was found between the pages of an old ledger, together with many other clippings of poems and articles from nineteenth-century newspapers. The clipping of the Holmes poem furnishes no clue to the newspaper from which it was taken. The other clippings come from widely separated places and cover the period from 1868 to 1899. It might eventually prove possible to identify the newspaper by means of the heading over the poem: a cut captioned "The Drawing Room."

3. This is probably a misprint for *snugly*. As Holmes wrote in 1879, "Poems are rarely printed correctly in newspapers. This is the reason so many poets die young." (As quoted by Thomas Franklin Currier, *A Bibliography of Oliver Wendell Holmes*, ed. Eleanor M. Tilton [New York, 1953], 329.)



Mister and Mistress W. in their youth —  
 New England youth, that seems a sort of pill —  
 Half wish-I-dared, half Edwards on the Will —  
 Bitter to swallow, and which leaves a trace  
 Of Calvinistic colic on the face.  
 Between them, o'er the mantle, hung in state  
 Solomon's temple done in copper-plate;  
 Invention pure, but meant, we may presume,  
 To give some Scripture sanction to the room.  
 Facing this last, two samplers you might see,  
 Each with its urn and stiffly weeping tree,  
 Devoted to some memory long ago.  
 More faded than their lines of worsted woe:  
 Cut paper decked the frames against the flies,  
 Though none e're dared an entrance who were wise,  
 And blushed asparagus in fading green  
 Added its shiver to the Franklin clean.  
 When first arrived, I chilled a half hour there,  
 Nor dared deflower with use a single chair;  
 I caught no cold, yet flying pain could find  
 For weeks in me — a rheumatism of mind.

— O. W. Holmes.

This poem does not appear among Holmes's collected works; and it is listed in neither the Currier-Tilton bibliography, which includes unpublished as well as published poems, nor the Holmes first-line index in the Library at Harvard University. As far as I am able to determine, it exists only as a single newspaper clipping.

Of course, the ascription of "The 'Best Room'" to Holmes does not in itself prove that he was the author. Nineteenth-century editors frequently attempted to add luster to newspaper verse by attributing it to well-known poets. Nevertheless, a close examination of the poem would seem to indicate that Holmes did actually write it. He had a marked dislike for the prim and cheerless New England parlor, and "The 'Best Room'" echoes numerous comments on that subject which are scattered through his collected works:

1. The reference to an "old maid's ghost in every chair" reflects a tendency of Holmes to think of old rooms, garrets, cellars, and similar places as inhabited by ghosts,<sup>4</sup>

2. The pictures of "Mister and Mistress W. in their youth" were probably suggested by two portraits of his Wendell ancestors —

4. John T. Morse, Jr., *Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes*, (Boston, 1896), I, 22, 32.

"a young man with handsome features and flowing locks, a young woman of much beauty in a cloud of floating drapery" — which hung in his Grandfather Wendell's chamber when Holmes was a small boy.<sup>5</sup> This particular room, incidentally, made a deep, and unpleasant, impression upon Holmes. He considered it a "kind of Bluebeard chamber" and later made literary use of it in the nightmare scene in *The Guardian Angel*.

3. The chilliness of the room, due in part to the Franklin stove, which would leave one shivering, reveals Holmes's dislike of stoves and his strong preference for fireplaces. To him, stoves were mere "patent subterfuges of one kind and another to get heat without combustion."<sup>6</sup>

4. The whole poem, and especially the ending, echoes his general aversion to the parlors of "lesser country-houses and genteel aspirations": "The chilly parlor and the slippery hair-cloth seat take the life out of the warmest welcome."<sup>7</sup>

Perhaps the most striking parallel, however, is between "The 'Best Room'" and the extended description of a chilly parlor which occurs in *Elsie Venner*:

The front parlors of some of these houses were the most tomb-like, melancholy places that could be found anywhere among the abodes of the living. Their garnishing was apt to assist this impression. Large-patterned carpets which always look discontented in little rooms, hair-cloth furniture, black and shiny as beetles' wing cases, and centre-tables, with a sullen oil-lamp of the kind called astral by our imaginative ancestors, in the centre, — these things were inevitable. In set piles round the lamp were ranged the current literature of the day, in the form of Temperance Documents, unbound numbers of one of the Unknown Public's Magazines, with worn-out steel engravings and high-colored fashion-plates, the Poems of a distinguished British author whom it is unnecessary to mention, a volume of sermons, or a novel or two, or both, according to the tastes of the family, and the Good Book, which is always *Itself* in the cheapest and commonest company. The father of the family with his hand in the breast of his coat, the mother of the same in a wide-bordered cap, sometimes a print of the Last Supper, by no means Morghen's, or the Father of his Country, or the old General, or the Defender of the Constitution, or an unknown clergyman with an open book before him, — these were the usual ornaments of the walls, the first

5. Tilton, *Amiable Autocrat*, 5.

6. *Elsie Venner*, Riverside Edition (Boston, 1891), 59.

7. *Ibid.*, 59.

two as a matter of rigor, the others according to politics and other tendencies.<sup>8</sup>

Omit the carpet, the books, and the temperance tracts, change the "Last Supper" to "Solomon's Temple," and this passage could almost be a prose version of "The 'Best Room.'"

In addition to the similarity of the "best room" to various other parlors described in Holmes's writings, three other bits of internal evidence seem to point to him as the author of the poem:

1. "The 'Best Room'" is written in heroic couplets, one of Holmes's favorite stanzas.

2. The attitude towards Calvinism is the same as that which Holmes characteristically displayed.<sup>9</sup>

3. Since he was a physician, Holmes would naturally tend toward such medical metaphors as the bitter "pill" of New England youth, "Calvinistic colic," and "rheumatism of mind."

Indeed, even if the poem were anonymous, scholars might well be inclined to assign it to Holmes. But since it both bears his name and also has a definite Holmesian flavor, there seems no reason to doubt its authenticity. Therefore, it deserves to stand as his definitive treatment of that New England institution, "the small, trim parlor, neat, decorous, chill."<sup>10</sup>

ALEXANDER E. JONES

## Harvard College and the Shays Rebellion

IT is well known that a main cause of the Shays Rebellion of 1786-7 was the plight of Bay State farmers who could not pay their rent, taxes, interest, and store-bills. What drove these plough-joggers to desperation was the demand of creditors, private and public, that all debts be satisfied in hard cash, at a time when markets for produce were disorganized and metal money was scarce on the countryside. Failure to pay meant loss of farm or debtor's jail.

Among the Chamberlain Manuscripts of the Boston Public Library there is a letter written a few weeks after the climax of the Rebellion, a paragraph of which neatly illustrates a phase of the "hard money squeeze"; it was penned on February 14, 1787 by the

8. *Ibid.*, 58-59.

9. For another statement of Holmes's view of the effect of Calvinism on youth see Morse, *Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes*, I, 44-45.

10. "The School-Boy," *The Poetical Work of Oliver Wendell Holmes*, Riverside Edition (Boston, 1908), III, 96.

Reverend Samuel Williams, Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Harvard (and agent of the College in this matter) to Thomas Ivers, Esq., Treasurer of the Commonwealth:

The Quit-Rents due from Hopkinton by the *Contract* with the Tennants are always to be paid in Sterling Money of Great Britain. This agreement was made in the year 1741 with an avowed design to set aside all depreciating Currencies. It has been customary to receive them in any kind of hard money. Mr. John Freeland, Collector of Hopkinton, refuses to satisfy the execution in any other way than by *Facilities*, and asserts that he has your authority for the same. As I know you never intended any thing of this kind, I have to request that you would give Mr. Hunt another Execution, and a Line under your hand that it must be satisfied in hard money. This will put it out of the Collector's power to defraud us in the manner of payment, and will bring the matter to a decision.

A few words will clarify the above: during the colonial period, Harvard College had used a gift of money to buy real estate in the town of Hopkinton, the income from which supported Hopkins scholars and Fellows; the "Facilities" in which the Hopkinton tenants wished to pay their Harvard landlord were farm goods — lacking "hard money" they desired to pay in kind; Harvard, like other creditors of the time, saw intent to defraud rather than genuine hardship.

It may not be amiss to add that Daniel Shays was born in Hopkinton, where his parents were among the poorest of the village, and where, during his youth, he worked for neighbors as a farm hand.

SIDNEY KAPLAN

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EDITOR: ZOLTAN HARASZTI

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# THE Boston Public Library QUARTERLY

JULY 1955

## Twenty-five Years of the Treasure Room

By ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

**T**WENTY-FIVE years ago — in May 1930 — the Treasure Room of the Library was opened to the public. Used originally as the Music Room, it was refitted not only to give necessary protection to our most valuable books and manuscripts but also to provide a harmonious background for their display. The bronze door opening from Sargent Hall, with its artistic design; the four rows of solid bronze exhibition cases, resting on red marble bases and topped with plate glass; the matching wall-cases, shelving thousands of volumes; and the silver-gilt hanging lamps make it one of the most beautiful rooms in the magnificent building. The lofty windows offer a pleasing view of the arcaded courtyard. Over the years, more than a half million visitors — classes from high schools and colleges, scholars and collectors, book-lovers of all ages and plain tourists — have viewed the treasures in the cases; admired Copley's great painting of Charles I in the House of Commons, demanding the extradition of the five impeached members; compared the two portraits of Benjamin Franklin painted by Duplessis and Greuze; examined the silver bowl presented to Daniel Webster by the people of Boston; and read the autograph signatures on the four great documents — the Address to the King, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution. What kind of exhibitions have these people come to see?

The twenty-four cases, spacious enough to hold over a hundred items, have been devoted to exhibitions on scores of subjects in history, literature, and the sciences. Illuminated manuscripts and early printed books have been shown. Books and manuscripts relating to Washington, Jefferson, and John Adams, to the Indian Wars, the Revolution, and the Civil War — and many other illustrious men and events of American history — have filled the room. Great writers have been honored with displays of first editions of their works, from Dante and Tasso, Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton, Cervantes and Lope de Vega, down to Goethe, Balzac, Emerson, Whitman, and Edgar Allan Poe. Herbals and botanical books, fine bindings, and works on architecture, geography, mathematics, the stage, etc. have formed the basis for other exhibitions. Many anniversaries have been celebrated, such as the tercentenary of Massachusetts, the founding of Harvard, Amherst, and Bowdoin colleges; the invention of printing; the publication of the first complete Bible in English, and that of the first Book of Common Prayer; the bi-millennium of Paris, and so on, down to the recent Jewish Tercentenary. A complete listing would be very long! The first exhibit was of a miscellaneous character, intended to give a comprehensive notion of the wealth of the Library. In an article in the April 1930 issue of *More Books*, the present writer described its scope:

Medieval manuscripts on parchment and with illuminated miniatures are shown in one case; fifteenth-century books printed in Germany, Italy, France, Spain, the Netherlands, and England are placed on view in another; Shakespeare Folios and Quartos, and other precious Elizabethan and Jacobean works are displayed, and next to them some of the rarest productions of the early American press: the Bay Psalm Book, the Indian Bible, Franklin's Cato Major; and finally autograph letters and poems by such poets as Poe, Browning, Longfellow, and Emily Dickinson. Is it ostentatious to put out such wealth on a single occasion? If so, let it be. These treasures belong to the people of Boston, and they should have a chance to delight in them.

Once more there is on view an exhibition of "a miscellaneous character" which might be called ostentatious indeed. The group of medieval manuscripts has been more than doubled, and that of fifteenth-century printed books trebled during the past twenty-

five years. In the field of Americana, in which the Library has always been pre-eminent, many star items have been added, as well as much other New England and Western Americana. The collections of English, French, Spanish, Italian, and German literature, and all the twenty-odd other collections have been enormously strengthened.

It would be instructive to confine the exhibit to the finest acquisitions of the past twenty-five years; and, to be sure, the majority of items have been selected from these. Yet would the public be satisfied with the omission of the Bay Psalm Book, the Indian Bible, the Columbus letter, or the Washington medal? Such treasures must be shown again and again, and people made aware of the privileged position of their Library.

IT is difficult to describe such an exhibit. Even brief notes about a dozen items would fill an article; and a mere catalog of names and titles, although useful to the specialist, would hardly be interesting to the public. At best, one can only try.

To the first edition of the *Columbus Letter*, printed in Rome in May 1493, has been added a copy of the second Basel edition of 1494. It contains large woodcuts depicting Columbus's landing in the New World. One shows two sailors in a boat approaching the shore, offering a goblet to the timid natives; one of these, bolder than the rest, comes forward with a large gold nugget; at the top is the inscription "Insula Hyspana." Another woodcut, occupying two-thirds of a page, represents the discovery of the islands called Fernanda, Ysabella, Hyspana, Conceptionis Marie, and Salvatoris. The next woodcut shows the building of a fortress. On the recto of the last leaf are the arms of Castile and Leon, while the verso is occupied by a picture of Columbus's ship in full sail, with the words "Oceanica Classis."

Only two of the many books of travel, exploration, and buccaneering will be mentioned. Sir Francis Drake's voyage to the West Indies is commemorated in a small volume (Nuremberg 1590), containing the journal kept by a member of the expedition. The ship left Plymouth in September 1585, with the intention of raiding the cities of the Spanish Main. The exploits at St Christopher, San Domingo, and Carthagenas are recorded.



It was more sickness than the bullets of the Spaniards that forced back the adventurers. In February they sailed north, making one more landing in Virginia, where they picked up the discouraged settlers of Raleigh's colony and carried them back to England. In 1618 another anonymous author told the story of Sir Walter Raleigh's second expedition to Guiana, in search of the fabulous city of El Dorado. Entitled *Nerves of Sir Walter Rauleigh*, it was written "from the River of Caliana, on the Coast of Guiana, November 16, 1617," when the expedition was recovering from its stormy passage and getting ready to ascend the river.

A curious side-light on the early colonization of the New World is found in a pamphlet by Sir William Alexander, the Scotch poet and favorite of James I, who was granted a charter to Nova Scotia and much of Canada. It was to advertise these lands that Sir William published, in 1624, his *Encouragement to Colonies*, in the hope that as "there was a New France, a New Spaine, and a New England, they might likewise have a New Scotland." It was written in the same elaborate style that he had used for his "completion" of Sidney's *Arcadia*, filled with classical allusions and courtly phrases. Six years later he re-issued the unsold sheets as *The Mapp and Description of New-England*, a copy of which is on view. As a result of such explorations, a vast body of cartographic material appeared, and in 1768 Thomas Jeffreys, geographer to His Majesty, collected the best in his monumental atlas, *A General Topography of North America and the West Indies*. The large folio contains ninety-three maps, some occupying several sheets, others no more than six inches square. Military maps, maps of Indian territory, and city maps and views are included, making the collection an important source of colonial history. About half of the maps are concerned with the conflicting claims of France and England.

A century before Stephen Daye arrived in Massachusetts Bay, the Spaniards had set up a press in Mexico City. On exhibit is the 1547 edition of the *Regla Christiana Breve*, a religious manual prepared by Bishop Juan de Zumarraga, "the Protector of the Indians." It is a small quarto printed in gothic type; the title-page is decorated with a woodcut showing a bishop giving his benediction. Another Mexican imprint on display is a copy

of the *Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana y Mexicana*, composed by Fray Alonso de Molina and printed in 1571. The volume, with a full-page woodcut of St. Francis, is one of a long line of such vocabularies compiled by the mission fathers. A third item is the *Carta* of Pedro de Morales, printed in 1579 by Antonio Ricardo. The first half of the book contains religious instructions, and the second is a play called the *Triumpho de los Sanctos* — the first drama presented in the New World.

The latest addition to the Library's large group of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Mexican imprints has been Francisco Hernandez's *La Naturalez y Virtudes de las Plantas*, 1615. Hernandez, physician of Philip II of Spain, was sent over to study the natural history of the country. He completed the work and had many of the plates engraved, but death put an end to his plans. It was another doctor, Nard-Antonio Recchi, who prepared the part on medicine and pharmacy for publication.

The Library was particularly pleased to enrich its great Benton Collection of the Book of Common Prayer with several volumes which the donor himself had desired to acquire. The first was the first American edition of the prayer book, printed by William Bradford in New York in 1710 — one of the two existing copies. The second was the Mohawk Prayer Book, issued by the same printer in 1715. The translation was done by Lawrence Claesse, interpreter for the missionary sent over by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The third volume, also an important piece of Americana, was the abridgment of the prayer book published in London in 1773, in which the shortening of the Psalms and the Catechism has been attributed to Benjamin Franklin! The acquisition of a beautiful copy of Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book of 1559 has filled a gap in the great series which begins with the two issues printed in 1549 and extends to the latest editions of the present day.

Our collection of English Bibles has been described, in an extensive study, in the December 1936 and the January 1937 issues of *More Books*. Since then the Library has acquired a perfect copy of the first issue of Cranmer's *Great Bible*, 1539, probably the only copy in New England. Fitting companions to John Eliot's Indian Bible of 1661-63 are — all three shown in the case — the German Bible published by Christopher Sauer in

1743 and the first English Bible printed in America, in 1782. British law did not permit the printing of the English Bible in the colonies; it was a symbol of the new freedom that Congress authorized Robert Aitken of Philadelphia to publish his edition.

On display are documents relating to Salem witchcraft, including the warrant for the execution of Rebecca Nurse and four other victims. The Indian wars are represented by the manuscript of Samuel Penhallow's *History of the Wars of New England*, relating to the ten years of fighting between the settlers and the Abenakis, begun after the arrival of Governor Dudley in 1703, and often spoken of as Queen Anne's War. Shown also is the printed volume, Boston 1726. A group of papers refer to Shays' Rebellion of 1787, that dramatic episode in Massachusetts history, the result of the economic depression following the Revolution. From additions to the Twentieth Regiment Collection, with its enormous mass of material about the Civil War, has been chosen Winslow Homer's *Campaign Sketches*, published in Boston in 1863. Other recent acquisitions include Nantucket whaling logs, proclamations and campaign histories of the Mexican War, and books relating to the settling of the West.

Prominence has been given in the exhibit to the autographs of American writers. The huge volumes of the original manuscripts of Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico* and Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature* are surrounded by autograph letters of Emerson, Thoreau, Lowell, Longfellow, Holmes, Howells, Emily Dickinson, and others.

THE oldest book in the Library is a Lectionary, written at the Abbey of St. Illidium at Clermont, France, early in the tenth century. Although without illustrations, it is an excellent example of the handsome post-Carolingian script. Next in the cases comes a superb early thirteenth-century Flemish Psalter. Eight full-page miniatures depict scenes from the life of Christ; and the occupations of the months are in outline drawing. There are huge decorative initials at the beginning of each book. The volume is open at the Beatus leaf depicting two scenes: David playing on his harp, and David slaying Goliath.

A small fourteenth-century Italian Picture Bible, with forty-





*"Adoration of the Magi"*  
*Full-Page Miniature from Early Flemish Psalter*





eight full-page miniatures, many of them done in the style of Giotto, offers a wide variety of iconographic material. It is not unlikely that the book was used by painters as a model in doing murals and altar-pieces. From the group of *Horae* have been chosen the beautiful "Grandes Heures" produced for a Norman duchess in the late fourteenth century, and one according to the Sarum Use, written at the beginning of the thirteenth. But the most impressive of all is the great Norman Bible, in four large volumes, dating from about 1260, and ornamented with eighty-five miniatures, all exceptionally well-preserved. The work once belonged to Cardinal du Prat, Chancellor of France under François I.

A group of nine manuscripts in French and English, bound in a folio, owes especial interest to the signatures of William Caxton, the first English printer, who acquired the volume while serving as "Governor to the English Nation" at Bruges. The sprawling note: "Iste liber constat Willelmo Caston . . ." occurs on three pages. Relating mainly to the problems of English trade with the Continent, the papers include Honoré Bonet's *L'Arbre des Batailles*, a summary of the laws of the county of Marc and the town of Calais, and the *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*, a political poem ascribed to Adam de Moleyns, Bishop of Chichester. On view are also John Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, written about 1430, with its wonderful full-page borders in the characteristic English style, and Christine de Pisan's *Les Trois Vertues*, with a large miniature showing in one panel Christine's vision of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and in the other, Christine lecturing to a gathering of admiring disciples. The volume was owned by the Seigneur of Saint-Vallier, father of Diane de Poitiers and hero of Victor Hugo's *Le Roi s'Amuse*, better known today in its operatic form, *Rigoletto*.

A fine "popular" manuscript — one of several of its kind in the Library — illustrated with scores of pen-drawings, is a Life of St. Augustine, done in Germany about 1450. Most of such manuscripts have perished through careless handling. Other manuscripts on display include treatises on the occult sciences, astronomy, medicine, and botany; a tiny breviary which must have been used by a Franciscan of the first generation since it has the earliest form of the *vita* of the Saint — the one read before the General Chapter of Narbonne revised it in 1260.

The part which Lourens Coster played in the invention of printing has excited much controversy. It has been claimed that he employed movable types in his town of Haarlem, in Holland, years before Gutenberg began his experiments at Strassburg. And he certainly did — only he produced his types from sand moulds. What Gutenberg invented was not the use of movable types but the casting machine. The Library possesses three vellum leaves of this early Dutch printing — one from the 24-line and two from the 27-line edition of the *Ars Minor* of Aelius Donatus, the fourth-century grammarian. The first leaf was printed before 1435 and the two others before 1445!

A rare example of a form that did not long survive the invention of printing is a *Biblia Pauperum*, also produced in the Netherlands. It was printed from blocks on which both the text and illustration were engraved; this is why these books are called "block-books." The actual printing was done, on one side of the leaf only, either with a press or with a burnisher. The Library's copy, now incomplete, is one of the four copies once owned by the British Museum, which in 1859 published a facsimile edition of the work. Each plate is divided into five parts: three in the center depict scenes from the life of Jesus; and one at the top and one at the bottom, scenes from the Old Testament. The picture at the top is surrounded by texts from the Scriptures. The woodcuts show the influence of Van Eyck, and were in turn imitated by a host of artists, Lucas van Leyden and Quentin Matsis among them. The stained-glass windows of the Convent of Hirschau, in Württemberg, were copied from this block-book.

Next is shown one of the choicest purchases — a magnificent vellum copy of the *Catholicon*, the Latin lexicon of Joannes Balbus, printed at Mainz in 1460, probably by Gutenberg himself. Its famous colophon states that it was produced "without help of reed, stilus, or pen, but by the wondrous agreement, proportion, and harmony of punches and types." The Library's copy lacks two of the introductory tracts, but the main body of the dictionary is complete. Further, the sheets are uncut, and the printing seems as fresh as if it had been done yesterday.

More than two hundred books with woodcut illustrations have been acquired in the past quarter century, many in pristine condition. The *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis* (Augsburg 1473)

is a history of the Fall and the Redemption, in which each incident of the New Testament is paralleled by three stories of the Old Testament and the history of the Gentiles. The *Concilium zu Constanz* (Augsburg 1483) records the great Council of 1414-18, which finally ended the Papal schism. Thomas Lirer's *Chronica* (Ulm 1485) carries German history to the middle of the twelfth century. And there is the *Itinerarium Beatae Mariae* (Ulm 1487) with its frontispiece of the Virgin, which has been described as presenting "the most maidenly appearance of Mary" found on any contemporary woodcut. But, then, the woodcut-makers of Augsburg and Ulm were masters of their art. The rich representation of the presses of the two cities in the Library is the delight of scholars and the envy of book collectors! Many libraries have copies of the Aldine *Polyphilus*; but the one in the Library is truly remarkable. Originally in the possession of the Fugger family, it is in a Venetian binding that could have been made in Aldus's bindery — if he really had one. Seeing the book, the late Dr. Rosenbach exclaimed: "There is no finer copy — excepting my own! But that belonged to Charles V."

Other famous works shown are the Brünn edition of the *Chronica Hungarorum* (the Library has, of course, the Augsburg edition too), and Sir John Mandeville's *Itinerarium* (Augsburg 1481). To the unusually strong group of Spanish incunabula, part of the Ticknor Collection, have been added some ten volumes, mostly with woodcuts. The most distinguished item among the early Hebrew books is the *Moreh Nebukim*, Maimonides's great work, known in English as the *Guide for the Perplexed*. The purpose of the *Guide* was the solution of the conflict between philosophy and religion. And philosophy for Maimonides meant Aristotle. A disciple of Avicenna, Maimonides made science the foundation of his thinking. The task which he set himself — the reconciliation of Aristotle with the Scriptures — was identical with the one which occupied the Doctors of the Church in the following century. "Maimonides is," a French scholar wrote, "the precursor of St. Thomas Aquinas, and the *Moreh Nebukim* heralds and makes way for the *Summa Theologiae*." The volume, printed in Rome about 1480, is in perfect condition — rare with Hebrew incunabula which often lack the first and last few pages.

From the sixteenth century one may see some of the finest examples of the printer's art, for instance Geoffroy Tory's *Book of Hours* of 1524 and his celebrated *Champfleury* of 1529. In the latter the great type-designer presented a complete alphabet, drawn in accordance with the proportion of the human body. With the *Divina Proportione* (Venice 1509) of Luca Paccioli, who borrowed some of his designs from Leonardo da Vinci, and Dürer's *Underweysung der Messung* (Nuremberg 1525), the *Champfleury* is one of the three great works on letter design. The Library has them all.

But all this concern with the purity of type-design went by the board with the publication, in 1517 in Nuremberg, of the *Theuerdank*. The work is a poem of chivalry, celebrating the "heroic" feats of the Emperor Maximilian on his journey for his bride, Mary of Burgundy. Maximilian himself is "Der Held Tewrdannck," whereas Mary is "Die Kunigin Ernreich." It is no literary masterpiece; Maximilian had made the first drafts of the poem, which was finished by Melchior Pfintzing, the chaplain to Charles V. The type was imitated from the handwriting of Vincent Röckner, secretary of the Emperor; and it tried to reproduce all the flourishes fashionable to the calligraphy of the time. Particularly in the top and bottom lines these curlicues assume enormous proportions. The typography has been frowned upon by historians of the craft, but this surely is not the whole story of the volume which was illustrated with 118 woodcuts, each occupying two-thirds of a page, by artists of such stature as Schäufelein, Burgkmair, Weiditz, and others. An early baroque book, the *Theuerdank* is one of the most spectacular but also one of the grandest works of the century. Happily, the Library's copy is splendid. In its original binding, wooden boards covered with stamped pigskin, it is uncut. Like Jenson's *Pliny* and Aldus's *Polyphilus*, this is a book which must be had in the best condition or not at all.

**A**DDITIONS in the field of English literature have ranged from the fifteenth century to the present. Among the prize acquisitions have been the first edition of Caxton's *Golden Legend*, 1483, with eighty-one woodcuts; the third edition of Chau-



cer's works printed by Pynson in 1492, also illustrated; and Bishop Alcock's *Mons Perfectionis*, printed by Pynson in 1497-98. The *Chronycle of England*, published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1502, was compiled from many histories, perpetuating many a myth, yet it has some original information about Henry V's ascension and some of the real reasons behind the French campaign which led to Agincourt. Other books on view are *The Passyon of Our Lorde*, 1521; Walter Hilton's classic *Scala Perfectionis*, 1533; John Rastell's *The Pastyme of People*, 1529, well known for its eighteen full-page woodcuts of the kings of England; and the two volumes of William Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, 1567, the source of more than forty Elizabethan plays. A beautiful copy of the first English version of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, 1620, and a first edition of John Donne's *Poems*, 1633, represent the seventeenth century.

The great collection of English literature brought together by Thomas P. Barton stopped with the first quarter of the eighteenth century; a strenuous effort has been made, therefore, to build up the later sections. Besides the purchase of the Defoe Collection, rivalling that of the British Museum, the Library has acquired all the important works of Pope, Swift, Addison, and Johnson; Fielding, Smollett, Richardson, and Sterne; Wordsworth, Coleridge, Keats, Shelley, and Byron; Jane Austen, the Brontës, Dickens, Thackeray, Tennyson, and others — up to William Butler Yeats, John Masefield, and T. S. Eliot. To quote the titles of the first editions from *Gulliver's Travels* to *Tom Jones* and *The Sentimental Journey*; from *The Lyrical Ballads* (a gift of Mr. Lee M. Friedman) and *Christabel* to the *Salt Water Ballads* and *The Waste Land*, is to call the roll of honor of two hundred years of English literature. The collection is now nearly as strong in its later periods as in the earlier ones — an achievement of which the Library is justly proud.

Nor has the field of English literary manuscripts been neglected. A seven-page autograph letter by Samuel Johnson is shown, with groups of letters by Dickens, Bulwer Lytton, Tennyson, and Barrie. The Blathwayt Papers, covering forty years in the administration of the later Stuarts, including the campaigns of Marlborough, have great historical value.

The space allotted to treasures of French and German litera-



ture permit only the showing of a few items of each. Books of Ronsard, Charron, and Descartes; the sixteenth-century *La Toison d'Or* and *Le Grand Therençe*, both lavishly illustrated; works by Balzac, Hugo, Verlaine, Rimbaud, and a manuscript notebook of Anatole France are on display. From among German classics, first editions of Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*, Goethe's *Faust*, Schiller's *Wallenstein*, and Heine's *Gedichte* are included.

The Library is exceedingly rich in rare maps, a favorite subject of Justin Winsor, the great historian, and librarian of the Boston Public Library from 1868 to 1877. Among recent editions are Berlinghieri's *Geographia* (Florence 1482), the first atlas to introduce some modern maps, all printed from copper engravings; and Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti's *Isolario* (Venice 1485), the first printed book of sea-charts, and the only one published in the fifteenth century. It contains forty-eight plates, depicting the islands of the Aegean Sea, each described in a sonnet. Several of the great Dutch cartographical works are on view — the first *Mercator* atlas, of 1575; Jode's *Speculum orbis terrarum*, 1593; and the *Mercator-Hondius* atlas of 1638. There is also Queen Elizabeth's copy of Linschoten's *Voyages to the East and West Indies*, 1598, specially bound for her and bearing her coat-of-arms.

In few libraries can the history of printing be studied to greater advantage than in the Boston Public Library. From the first crude efforts of Lourens Coster to the finest products of contemporary printing, the work of all the famous presses of Western Europe and America are amply represented in its collections. From the start of the movement, the Library had a particular interest in the revival of good printing; examples of the Kelmscott, Doves, Ashendene, Merrymount, and the other private and semi-private presses were acquired at the time of their appearance. In more recent years, increased attention has been given to the Continental presses. Nowhere has the coöperation of painters and printers been more complete than in modern French bookmaking. The Library is pleased to possess the great works illustrated by Rouault, Maillol, Bonnard, Matisse, Villon, Ségonzac, and other distinguished artists. They have an intense appeal for the public; at the time of this writing, several volumes are on loan at the Busch-Reisinger Museum in Cambridge.

The whole room could be filled with fine bindings alone, representing the styles of many nations and periods. It *was* so filled on one occasion; but today, along with the master-works produced for Grolier and Maioli, also the exquisite modern creations of Bonet, Cretté, M. Gras, and others may be seen.

**M**ORE than two hundred and fifty issues of *More Books* and its successor *The Boston Public Library Quarterly* have been devoted, to a large extent, to these treasures, to make them more readily accessible to local residents as well as to scholars in all parts of the country and the world. Almost every issue contained a long essay and several shorter articles, most of them by the present writer, and the rest by Margaret Munsterberg and other members of the Rare Book Department. Brought together, they would easily fill ten volumes. Unfortunately, only the articles relating to John Adams and his library have been published so far in book form.

What is especially remarkable about these treasures is that all were acquired from the income of trust funds given for the purchase of "rare and expensive books and manuscripts," "valuable and rare editions," and especially from the great Benton Fund, stipulated for the purchase of "books, maps, and other library material of permanent value and benefit to the Library . . . books desirable for scholarly research and use." It was well-spent money. For the copy of Lirer's *Chronica*, mentioned above, the Library paid \$400; a recent catalog priced it at \$2,850. The *Biblia Pauperum*, which cost \$3,000, has been valued at \$15,000. And how to appraise the *Catholicon*, with its 332 vellum leaves, for which the Library paid \$1,600? In April 1946 a single leaf sold at Sotheby's for \$200. Hundreds of similar examples could be quoted.

All told, in the past twenty-five years the Library spent about four hundred thousand dollars on these acquisitions. They are worth, at a conservative estimate, one and a half million dollars.

## Longfellow's Reading

(Continued from the April issue)

By EDWARD WAGENKNECHT

**A**MONG other American writers of fiction, Longfellow was attracted in his youth by the work of Brockden Brown, specifically *Arthur Mervyn*, but he seems more impelled by patriotism here than by purely literary considerations. He appears not to have owned a set of Cooper until 1856. Then he read *The Two Admirals*, and, though he found the style old-fashioned, he gave the author credit for "strength and determination and self-reliance" and for leaving "an impression of greatness on the reader's mind."<sup>1</sup> But a few months later he did not enjoy *Homeward Bound* at all: "a very ordinary novel, certainly: drawn out, as if he were writing for space, as in fact he was, having divided his book into two." The next day he thought *Home as Found* "very dull and dreary."<sup>2</sup>

More interesting are his comments on Melville. In the summer of 1846 he read *Typee*, which he found "very curious and interesting,"<sup>3</sup> though Mrs. Longfellow seems to have been shocked by Fayaway. A year later she wrote her father:

We have just attacked Prescott, after skirmishing through *Omoo* which is very inferior to *Typee*, being written not so much for its own sake as to make another book, apparently. I understand the author is engaged to a daughter of Judge Shaw. After his flirtations with South Sea beauties it is a peculiar choice (in her).<sup>4</sup>

Longfellow was delighted with Melville's anonymous praise of Hawthorne's *Mosses*, of which he sent a copy to his friend. But there is only one reference to *Moby-Dick*. On November 15, 1851 he reads in it "all the evening" and finds it "very wild, strange and interesting."<sup>5</sup> There is no follow-up, and there are no comments on any later work.

In the only letter he ever wrote to Poe, Longfellow told him that "all I have read from your pen has inspired me with a high idea of your power; and I think you are destined to stand among the first romance-writers of the country, if such be your aim."<sup>6</sup>

Of Robert Montgomery Bird he writes to George W. Greene, the historian: "I like the Doctor exceedingly as a man but cannot stand his books."<sup>7</sup> His respect for Nathaniel Parker Willis, not essentially perhaps a writer of fiction, declined notably after personal contact, and his relish of Willis's writings along with it. (There is still a beautiful portrait of Willis in the Longfellow House.) He objected only to the power of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: it was "too melancholy" and made his "blood boil too hotly."<sup>8</sup> Of the prolific J. H. Ingraham — "a dark, streaming, flaring individual, with whiskers, and loose ends flying all abroad, and weeds of woe pendant from his hat" and "a tremendous ass!! really tremendous!" — Longfellow records that "he writes the worst novels ever written by anybody." (Ingraham dedicated *Pirate of the Gulf* to Longfellow, "but without permission, confound him.")<sup>9</sup> Yet in 1856 he finds some merit in *The Prince of the House of David*. He discerned "poetic genius" in Sylvester Judd's *Richard Edney* but was distressed by its structural deficiencies. He had already found a similar fault in Judd's poetry: *Philo*, he says, has "good ideas, and energetic expressions in it; but to me no more like a Poem, than a pile of bricks is like a house."<sup>10</sup>

Among the works of the younger novelists, he is said to have admired Cable's *The Grandissimes* and to have hoped that it might typify a new style in fiction. He was friendly, during his later years, with Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, whose work he admired, especially that fine novel, *The Story of Avis* — "the most beautiful analysis of a noble woman's nature, that I have seen in any work of fiction."<sup>11</sup> This praise greatly delighted the author who had not expected *Avis* to please masculine readers. In 1874 he congratulated Howells upon the current installment of *A Foregone Conclusion* in the *Atlantic*. "The characters develop themselves beautifully, and in fine contrast. The bits of scenery are charming. I think I can guess which lover the heroine marries but am silent, fearing to make a mistake."<sup>12</sup>

He encouraged the younger poets in his later years also — Lanier, Aldrich, Gilder, and others — but his insistence upon simplicity of style made him cold to the experimentalists. He enjoyed Joaquin Miller's call in 1872, and was tolerant of his personal idiosyncrasies, but he makes no comment upon his



poetry. Toward Whitman he was perhaps less receptive than Whitman was toward him. "Can you lend me Walt Whitman's last 'Yawp'?" he writes Fields in 1865. "If so I will take it after dinner."<sup>13</sup> But the "new spirit" in poetry was stirring even earlier than the 'sixties, and he did not like it even when it was expressed by his friends. In 1853 Julia Ward Howe's *Passion Flowers* — "a restless, fluttering bird," he calls her — pleased him by their "genius" and "beauty," but distressed him with their sadness and "discontent." "Here is revolt enough, between these blue covers."<sup>14</sup>

Mrs. Eddy sent Longfellow a copy of *Science and Health* at some undetermined date — she seems to have sent it to all prominent American writers — but he shied at a testimonial. "Having so many occupations and interruptions," he wrote in acknowledgment, "I have not found time to read *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures* sufficiently, but will not on that account delay thanking you for its excellence." These words were quoted, nevertheless, in the first edition (1896) of her *Miscellaneous Writings*.

## 7

LONGFELLOW read extensively in a number of European literatures — sometimes in the original and sometimes in translation. His long preoccupation with Dante naturally gave Italian a special importance for him. When he resumed his interrupted translation of the *Purgatorio* in 1853 he declared that "It diffused its benediction through the day."<sup>15</sup> Lawrance Thompson complains that Dante's account of otherworldly adventures sent Longfellow back to German romanticism. "The *Divina Commedia* blinded Longfellow to the essential spirit of Dante, his mediaeval realism."<sup>16</sup> Where, one wonders, is "the essential Dante" to be found if not in *The Divine Comedy*?

In the great fragment which bears his name, Michael Angelo is permitted to enter rather severe judgments of both Petrarch and Aretino, which Longfellow must, in some measure, have shared. He can be severe, too, on Goldoni, Ariosto, and Boccaccio, but he knew how to relish them also. "I was on the point



of writing to you yesterday," he wrote Greene in 1875, "when my eye fell on a volume of Goldoni, lying on the table, and taking it up I began to read. I was so delighted to find anything to amuse me, that I quite forgot myself and you, until the afternoon came and brought what follows."<sup>17</sup> In the *Tales of a Wayside Inn*, Boccaccio, despite his sexuality, is both praised and drawn upon:

The story-telling bard of prose,  
Who wrote the joyous Tuscan tales  
Of the Decameron, that make  
Fiesole's green hills and vales  
Remembered for Boccaccio's sake.

For Calderón and Lope de Vega Longfellow seems to have had something of the same kind of feeling as for these Italians. He is not willing to go along with the German critics in sacrificing Lope to Calderón. Calderón has more imagination, he admits, and a more poetical style, but he finds his diction pompous. Lope, though careless, has more force, simplicity, and directness. Yet when, under the stress of the Civil War, he sought relief in literature, it was to Calderón that he turned.

Victor Hugo is probably the French writer whom Longfellow praises most warmly, though the most enthusiastic passage is in Blanche Roosevelt's book, which I am never disposed to take quite at face value. George Sand, however, is the one whom he refers to most frequently and apparently enjoyed most. As early as 1840 he praises her "magnificent style," finding more poetry in her prose than in Racine's verse.<sup>18</sup> When he went to Europe in 1842 he wanted to meet her, but his hopes were not realized. In 1846 he called her "that wonderful woman of genius strange and wild."<sup>19</sup> In spite of this, she gets only a qualified endorsement, the reservations being entered upon moral grounds. Professor Carl L. Johnson has quoted references to some fifteen titles in all. In 1847 Longfellow enjoys *Simon* so much that he wishes he himself could write half a dozen romances like it. In 1850 he is, inevitably, charmed with the idyllic *Fadette*, but two years later, in *La Mare au Diable*, George Sand's "hot nature scorches the page a little too plainly."<sup>20</sup> In 1859 he pronounces *Elle et Lui* "disagreeable."<sup>21</sup> But the next year both *L'Homme de Neige* and *Jean de la Roche* seem disap-

pointingly tame. "I am afraid we are both growing old; she as writer and I as reader."<sup>22</sup> Professor Johnson found no further references to her work after 1860. Nevertheless, as he remarks, George Sand had held Longfellow's interest for twenty years, longer than Mlle. de Scudéry, Mme. de Sévigné, or Mme. de Pompadour, each of whom had fascinated him for a time.

A number of other French novelists are mentioned. In 1848 he reads Balzac's *Scènes de la Vie de Provence* and comments on it in his journal: "He has wonderful skill in the delineation of characters; but over all his tales is 'the trail of the serpent.'"<sup>23</sup> But Higginson remembered how he had recommended *Peau de Chagrin* to his students as a model of style, and in his lecture notes on Balzac he calls *Père Goriot* "a King Lear in low life" and describes Josephine as "one of the most striking characters ever drawn by the pen of a romancer." This same lecture contains notes on a number of works by a nineteenth-century novelist often considered shocking, Paul de Kock. *Georgette* is condemned for its "lewdness," and *Gustave* for its "indecenty and licentiousness." *Il Bon Enfant*, on the other hand,

has an excellent moral; for it shows painfully enough the fate of those whose good-nature is their undoing; who have not character enough to say No! — and who with many mild and excellent qualities of mind and heart, go to the devil for want of firmness. There is less indecenty in the work than might have been expected, considering whence it came. There is moreover much fun and wit. The description of the Omnibus, with which it opens, is capital.<sup>24</sup>

In 1858 he calls *The Three Musketeers* amusing but the next year he speaks of *The Count of Monte Cristo* as "very clever in construction, but spun out beyond everything."<sup>25</sup> Stendhal's *Chartreuse de Parme* is "a bad book," "a clever description of Italian manners" which "grows worse and worse" as it proceeds. He hopes that it is exaggerated.<sup>25</sup> Erckmann-Chatrian's *Le Blocus* gets a sympathetic hearing, possibly because Longfellow sympathized with its pacifism. There are a few references to that Gallicized Russian, Turgenev, generally favorable, though one unnamed book is described as "painful."<sup>27</sup> To a correspondent he wrote of *Nest of Nobles*:

There is a great charm in his writings and a certain freshness which is delightful. This is particularly the case in all his descrip-

tions of nature. I think he must have travelled much by night and have watched the dawn breaking over the fields and meadows. He makes me not only see, but feel the scene he describes, though the description may be but a few lines in length.<sup>28</sup>

He read *The Wandering Jew*, by Eugène Sue, and wrote some nonsense verses inspired by its great length. At the very end — in 1880 — he tells Amy Fay that he has never read a novel by Zola.

Among the older French writers, Rabelais “wearies” him in 1874.<sup>29</sup> Molière he appreciated, though there are some reservations, largely moral. In 1850 Racine’s *Athalie* prompts a generalization: “What a strange world is this of the old French drama! Not unnatural, but supernatural. One must step up onto the platform!”<sup>30</sup> In his lectures on “The Trouvères,” he is very apologetic about the *fabliaux*, but perhaps no more so than the times demanded. A visit to Ferney in 1836 had prompted a slighting reference to Voltaire: “I have no regard nor respect for the memory of this evil spirit whose countenance was ‘half eagle half monkey’ — and whose mind partook of the character of his countenance.”<sup>31</sup>

He praised Chateaubriand’s glowing descriptions of American scenery and condemned Lamartine’s “long-winded raptures.”<sup>32</sup> In the ‘seventies he found Taine’s history of English literature “a prodigiously clever book.”<sup>33</sup> He had already recommended Sainte-Beuve to his older son: *Couseris du Lundi* and *Nouveaux Lundis* — “charmingly written essays on various subjects historical, literary and artistic. There are a great many volumes, but you ought to have a set for future use. He is the best of the French critics.”<sup>34</sup>

Except for Dante’s work in Italian, German literature was more important to Longfellow than that of any other continental nation, and he found comfort in Novalis and other romanticists after Mary’s death. But his approach to the giant of German literature was cautious in the extreme. In the beginning he greatly preferred both Schiller and Jean-Paul Richter.

His enthusiasm for Schiller was fired first by Carlyle, and his early inclination to prefer him to Goethe was determined not only by his more idealistic moral atmosphere but also by a feeling that the poet should be close to the heart of humanity,

writing not only for "the few who think" but also for "the many who feel."<sup>35</sup>

His praise of Richter he sets forth not only in his letters and his journal but in his manuscript lectures on German literature and in the rhapsodic chapter about him in *Hyperion*. But he is not indiscriminating about it. He was attracted to Richter by the goodness of his heart and the purity of his life, his "boundless love for all that is good in man and all that is beautiful in the world," his "magnificent and gorgeous imagination, which makes his descriptions of nature like Claude Lorraine's sunset landscapes." But he is under no delusions concerning Richter's ability to please English and American readers. Like Sterne, he is a lawless genius who insists upon going his own way, and unless the reader is willing to forget the rules and follow whithersoever he leads there is no hope for him. He is capable too of

foolish extravagances in his style . . . This eagle of German literature is not content to sweep through the bright fields of pure air and bright sunshine — but he must dart into the thunder clouds, and hide himself in mists and vapors. He soars beyond our ken — and we only hear his scream. It is not because he is so far above us, that we cannot follow him — but because he is enveloped in a cloud.

Even Richter's masterpiece, *Titan*, has a "too horrible and unnatural" catastrophe. "The plan of the whole work is . . . every way defective; and the miserable waxwork machinery altogether unworthy of such great genius as Jean Paul."<sup>36</sup>

He appreciated Heine's lyric gift, but he had nothing in common with his spirit. The severest indictment is to be found in the 1842 article in *Graham's Magazine*,<sup>37</sup> where Heine appears as "the leader of the new school in Germany which is seeking to establish a religion of sensuality, and to build a palace of Pleasure on the ruins of the church." This school "seems desirous of trying the experiment so often tried before, but never with any success, of living without a God. Heine expresses this in phrases too blasphemous or too voluptuous to repeat . . ." But Longfellow does quote from his follower Gutzkow opinions which are shocking and silly enough. "Thus the old and oft-repeated follies of mankind come up and are lived over again by young men, who despise the wisdom of the Past, and imagine themselves wiser than their generation." Longfellow also objects to "the



fierce implacable hatred with which Heine pursues his foes," and declares that he combines "the recklessness of Byron" with "the sentimentality of Sterne." He is "not sufficiently in earnest to be a great poet." In 1851 Longfellow found Heine's "Deutschland" "a sneering, sarcastic, in parts beautiful, in parts, indecent, Poem." And in 1854 he finds Heine's recent verses, written after his illness, "witty and wicked as ever."

Longfellow praises Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*: "I think highly of it; — though it is not a masterpiece; and I do not like the way in which it closes. The story of the Three Rings, told by Nathan the Jew — is beautiful, and as good as a sermon."<sup>38</sup> *Emilia Galotti*, however, is "a horrible tragedy,"<sup>39</sup> and *Miss Sara Sampson*, much later, "still less pleasing . . . Why choose such a theme?"<sup>40</sup> He calls Hoffmann's "Tale of the Golden Pot" "the best marvel or wonder-story I ever read . . ."<sup>41</sup>

Longfellow's relationship and adjustment to Goethe is a very large subject which has now been studied in detail by Professor Long<sup>42</sup> and others, and which can, and need, only be viewed in its broadest outlines here. In the beginning, *The Sorrows of Werther* fascinated him by its sweet simplicity, reminiscent of Wordsworth, yet too naked and natural for English readers, while at the same time it repelled him by its unhealthy emotionalism, eventuating in suicide, and its lack of Christian principle.

The language and imagery are beautiful. In England and America the book is sneered at. I think it is not understood. In one or two places the author has suffered his love for simple, homely nature to carry him a little too far; as Wordsworth has done in his poetry. They have both been laughed at by persons who have intellect without tenderness of heart, and by those who have neither; but not by the few who have both. Thus for example, when Goethe describes the delight his Werther felt in going out into the garden at sunrise to gather green-peas — in sitting down to shell them, while he read his Homer — in choosing his sauce-pan — buttering his peapods, and stirring them over the kitchen fire, — it requires a mind of peculiar tone to enter into the *ideal* of such a scene, and with the hero "powerfully feel, how the superb lovers of Penelope slew oxen and swine, hewed them piece-meal and roasted them." To the great majority of readers the whole transaction is ridiculous in a romance; a very few only will see therein a forth-shadowing of simple, patriarchal life.



Longfellow told his Harvard students that he did not believe this novel would have a bad moral effect "unless upon minds weak and willing to err." Yet the moral objection remained, for he knew too that, for all Goethe's glorification of him, Werther himself was a man who played the fool "on a great scale — in seven-league boots as it were . . ."

Another comment on *Werther* is still more interesting, however, because it shows what a sensitive reader Longfellow was.

I have read the book several times; both here and in Germany. The effect was different. The state of Society in Germany lifts one up nearer to a level with the book. But in this country the difference between our daily feelings and those described in the book are far greater. Above all the work should not be read in translation. One of its great charms is its style; and the sentiment seems factitious when seen through the dim veil and twilight of the German language.

Comments upon other works by Goethe are varied in character, with sometimes the ethical view predominating, sometimes the esthetic. Even *Faust* "was not written for weak and sickly minds; but for healthy, manly, and strong minds, for moral fire-eaters, who have an antidote for Prussic acid." In an 1837 letter to Mary Appleton, Longfellow speaks of Goethe disrespectfully as "Old Humbug." This, too, was the original title of the Goethe chapter in *Hyperion*. In 1851 Longfellow advised Rölker not to publish an English translation of Goethe's *Elective Affinities*, and it was not until 1871 that Goethe's portrait replaced Schiller's as the frontispiece of *The Poets and Poetry of Europe*. On the other hand, it was as early as 1840 that he disapproved of Menzel's attack upon the German poet, for he was already perceiving how, with all his shortcomings, "from a buoyant, cloudless youth," Goethe at last "perfected himself, into a free, benignant, lofty-minded man," finally achieving a "classic repose." When in later years, Justin McCarthy accused Longfellow of having disparaged Goethe's "Roman Elegies" in *Hyperion*, the poet found it difficult to accept the charge. A copy of the book being fetched, he admitted McCarthy's strictures and declared that he had been mistaken.

For all his half-heartedness in the matter, Longfellow rendered great services to Goethe's cause in the United States. It was he who delivered the first lectures on Goethe ever heard

at Harvard. As Long puts it, he was "the first important interpreter in this country of . . . [Goethe's] genius and fame."<sup>43</sup>

The foregoing consideration, while not an exhaustive study of Longfellow's reading, is perhaps sufficient to illustrate the strength of his appetite, his sensitiveness, and his breadth. Such a range as has been indicated here was, it should be remembered, far more unusual in his time than it would be today.

### Notes

This article is a portion of the author's book *Longfellow: A Full-Length Portrait*, which is to be published by Longmans, Green and Company. Quotations from manuscript materials included in it are made by kind permission of the Longfellow Trustees and the Harvard College Library.

1. Samuel Longfellow, *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, etc. (Boston, 1886), II, 285.
2. MS: Journal, July 31, 1856.
3. MS: Journal, July 23, 28, 29, 1846.
4. MS: Fanny Appleton Longfellow, Letter to Nathan Appleton, August 4, 1847.
5. MS: Journal, Nov. 15, 1851.
6. *Life*, II, 377.
7. MS: Letter to G. W. Greene, July 23, 1839.
8. *Life*, II, 223.
9. MSS: Journal, Apr. 24, 1838; Jan. 30, 1856. Letter to G. W. Greene, Oct. 22, 1838. Cf. *Life*, I, 301.
10. MS: Journal, Dec. 28, 1849.
11. MS: Letter to Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Mar. 17, 1879.
12. MS: Letter to W. D. Howells, Aug. 16, 1874.
13. MS: Letter to James T. Fields, Nov. 14, 1865.
14. Samuel Longfellow, *Final Memorials of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Boston, 1887), pp. 237-238.
15. *Life*, II, 232.
16. Thompson, *Young Longfellow* (New York, 1938), p. 264.
17. MS: Letter to G. W. Greene, Feb. 4, 1875.
18. MS: Journal, June 29, 1840.
19. MS: Journal, May 9, 1846.
20. *Life*, II, 220.
21. MS: Journal, May 19, 1859.
22. MS: Journal, Sept. 5, 1860. Cf. *Life*, II, 351.
23. MS: Journal, Sept. 20, 1848.
24. MS: Notes on Balzac — French Literature.

25. MSS: Journal, Dec. 2, 1858; March 1, 1859.
26. MSS: Journal, Aug. 4, 7, 1858.
27. *Final Memorials*, p. 96.
28. Letter of June 26, 1871. Quoted in a Maggs Bros. catalogue (London, 1912).
29. MS: Journal, Jan. 22, 1874.
30. MS: Journal, Apr. 12, 1850.
31. MS: Letter to Stephen Longfellow, Sr., July 29, 1836.
32. *Life*, II, 27, 143.
33. *Final Memorials*, p. 181.
34. MS: Letter to Charles Longfellow, June 10, 1867.
35. MS: Journal, Nov. 25, 1835.
36. The quotations are from various passages in Longfellow's MS journals and from his MS Lectures: German Literature and Notes for a Life of Jean-Paul Richter.
37. *Graham's Magazine*, XX (1842), 134-137.
38. MS: Journal, May 27, 1836.
39. MS: Journal, Mar. 8, 1836.
40. MS: Journal, Feb. 5, 1859.
41. MS: German Literature.
42. Oric W. Long, *Literary Pioneers* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935).
43. For the quotations in the foregoing account of Longfellow's treatment of Goethe, see, especially, in MSS, Journal, Dec. 20, 29, 30, 1835; Mar. 5, June 4, 1836; July 27, 1851; Letter to Mary Appleton, Dec. 10, 1837; and the Lecture on Goethe, *passim*. Among printed sources, see James Taft Hatfield, *New Light on Longfellow* (Boston, 1933), *passim*; Thompson, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Long, *op. cit.*; Justin McCarthy, *Reminiscences* (New York, 1889), I, 202-203.

## Notable Purchases

(Continued from the April issue)

By ZOLTAN HARASZTI

The first part of this article described the medieval manuscripts and fifteenth-century books purchased in the last year or two. This second part presents a wide variety of items acquired during the same period. The concluding section will be devoted mainly to Americana and modern illustrated books.

THE number of early Italian illustrated books is enormous; Max Sander's great bibliography, *Le Livre à figures Italien, 1467-1530*, lists more than eight thousand, not counting the innumerable reprints. Yet they seem to be much rarer than the German or even the French illustrated books of the period, for most of them are small booklets with a single woodcut or border decoration, which, made for the people, were used up in reading. The woodcuts, especially before they got worn out, are delicate; few of them are signed, but usually they are in the style of the masters.

A group of great interest among these books is the *Sacre Rappresentazioni*, or Mystery Plays, published by the Florentine printers, and often reissued by their Sienese colleagues. They are little quartos of six to twelve leaves, written in *terza* or *ottava rima*, containing Old and New Testament stories and legends of the saints. Many of them were first published at the end of the fifteenth century, but are known today only in the sixteenth- or seventeenth-century editions. Only a few of the authors, such as Maffeo Belcari, Pieroso Castellano, Bernardo and Antonio Pulci, and Giuliano Dati, can be identified. Not all the plays reached the stage; but those which did, exerted a considerable influence upon the plastic and pictorial arts. The woodcuts which embellished them may embody reminiscences of actual performances.

Ten such volumes have been acquired by the Library. Probably the most striking is *Il Malatesta* (Sanders 6297, Dyson Per-

rins 313), a legend of St. Catherine of Siena, which is cast in the form of three acts, with the *dramatis personae* printed separately. St. Catherine, born in 1347, is remembered as a peacemaker among the warring Italian city states and for her mediation in the papal schism; but in this play just one of her miracles is dramatized. Malatesta Rinaldini, brought before justice, defies his confessor, denying Christ and all the saints; yet Catherine prays for his soul, until the devil flees from the evil-doer's side. Lightning appears in the sky, thunder is heard, and Malatesta is converted, begging for forgiveness. There are three cuts. On the title-page is an angel, a fixed ornament in all these books; a half-page cut of the Saint, with a flowering branch and a crucifix, appears at the beginning of the text; and the verso of the last page is occupied by a beautiful picture of the Saint, showing her crowned by angels and blessing the prelates and common people who surround her. The volume was printed in Siena about 1580. The first edition appeared in Florence in 1575, but, according to A. W. Pollard, the large cut may have been used as early as 1520. The title-page states that the play was publicly performed "in the country where she was born, on the first Sunday of May, her feast-day."

The legend of *Santa Caterina* of Alexandria (Sanders 6152) was one of the most famous stories of the Middle Ages. The Saint, who converted an assembly called together by the Emperor Maxentius to Christianity, was asked by the Emperor to marry him; his one condition was that she should worship his gods. The saint, however, refused the offer, because her only love was Jesus. For her steadfastness, she suffered a martyr's death on the wheel. A woodcut shows her with a halo and a crown, with one hand touching the torture wheel. The book was printed in Florence, in 1581, by Matteo Galassi.

*Santa Agnese* (Sanders 6123) a Christian maiden of the third century, was sought after by the son of the Prefect of Rome; but she did not want to marry a pagan, which made the disappointed youth desperately ill. The Prefect was furious and ordered Agnes to be brought to the market-place, stripped of all her clothes. However, an angel covered her with a miraculous garment, and her suitor, who revengefully rushed to do violence to her, was felled to the ground. Agnes restored him to life, and





*St. Catherine of Siena*  
*From Il Malatesta, a Mystery Play*



converted him; but she herself was decapitated, not by the Prefect, but by his successor. A woodcut on the title-page shows the Saint led by soldiers before a judge. The book was printed by Jacopo Pocavanza in 1588, in Florence.

The story of *Santa Agata* (Sanders 6121) had some characteristics similar to those of Santa Agnese. She, too, refused to honor the pagan gods, whereupon Quintianus ordered her tortured. Her breasts were cut off, and she was thrown on burning coal. But a sudden earthquake thwarted the purpose of the tyrant. Quintianus was cast into Hell and St. Agata was transported to Heaven. The larger part of the title-page is occupied by a woodcut showing the mutilation of the Saint. The book was printed in 1644 by Antonio Fortunati, who had presses both in Siena and Pistoia. The first edition appeared in Florence about 1490.

*Santa Uliva* (Sanders 6317, Kristeller 302a) was not a saint of the Church but one of the virtuous women of legend like Genevieve, Hildegard, Griselda, and others. The daughter of the Emperor Julian, she cut off her hands in order to escape her father's incestuous advances. Condemned to death, she was abandoned in a forest with wild beasts, where the King of Catalonia found and saved her during a hunt. After a series of strange adventures, in which she regained her hands but, accused of infidelity, was thrown into the sea, she became the Queen of Castille. Even then she had to contend with the persecutions of her mother-in-law. There are two handsome woodcuts (borrowed from the *Rappresentazione di Stella*), the first showing the young woman, her hands cut off, while a courtier conducts a king to her; and the other representing her amidst the huntsmen. The Italian version has been credited to Francesco Corna. The place of printing is not given, and there were more than a dozen editions in Florence and Siena between 1550 and 1600.

*Abraam e Sarra* (Sanders 6103) tells of the virtuous life of Isaac, the son of Sarah, and the wickedness of Ishmael, the son of Agar. The story begins and ends with a conversation between a father and his two sons, one good and the other bad. They are shown also on a handsome cut. The book was printed in Siena, without date, but probably in 1581. The title-page of

*La Reina Ester* (Sanders 6206, Kristeller 138m) is occupied by a woodcut — a very good one — showing a Queen kneeling in a landscape; rays come from the left, and on the right lies a town. The book, first published in Florence about 1500, was reprinted many times. The Library's copy was produced in Siena without date.

The *Angel Raffaello* (Sanders 6334), guiding young Tobias on his journey to Gabael to obtain the silver left in bond by his father, gave his name to another charming play. The innumerable adventures of the companions, until the young man gains Sarah for his wife and the elder Tobias is cured of his blindness, are told in detail. The picture of the Angel leading young Tobias by the hand occurs twice, and there is a handsome large cut showing a burial, with six or seven monks grouped about an open grave. The first edition seems to have appeared in Florence in 1516; the Library's copy was printed in 1596 by Lorenzo Arnesi. It bears the book-plates of Thomas Gaisford and Dyson Perrins.

The *Natività di Christo* (Sanders 6230), published in Siena without date, is a variant of the Florence edition of 1553. The shepherds make their speeches, then the Magi appear. The story is carried through their return to Herod and the flight into Egypt. The cut of the Nativity, with two angels, is very attractive. *S. Francesco e Ladroni* (Sanders 6191, Kristeller 158d) begins with an announcement of the theme: "To give an example to every sinner, there is here the famous and beautiful story of Saint Francis, the best Friar Minor, who, inflamed with Jesus Christ and with benevolence and pure love, treated three cruel robbers with such charity and patience that they became penitent." A large woodcut on the title-page shows the Saint in a landscape, with two kneeling monks; and there are two smaller cuts, in one a prior is blessing a monk, and in the other, clothing a novice with the habit. The earliest edition was published in Florence in 1490; the present copy was printed about 1550.

THE Library has been especially pleased to acquire an early Americana item — Girolamo Benzoni's *La Historia del Mondo Nuovo*, published in Venice in 1565. This is the extremely rare



first edition (Sabin 4790) of the famous work, a small quarto of 179 leaves, with seventeen half-page woodcuts. Benzoni, who was born in Milan in 1519, came to the New World in 1541 and spent fourteen years in the Antilles, the Spanish Main, and Peru, covering more ground than any writer of his times. He describes the customs of the natives — their organization, ceremonies, superstitions, eating and drinking habits, crafts, and so on, furnishing also a good deal of information about the fruits, spices, and other produce of the country. Benzoni sharply condemned the cruelties of the Spaniards. "As a result of this ruthless treatment," he wrote, "the natives, if they were not afraid of the incoming ships, would rise and murder all the Spaniards, making a most solemn banquet of them." He did not believe in the conversion of the natives, who "laugh at the monks, declaring that they will not be Christians on account of our wickedness."

The woodcuts show the Indians' way of rowing, use of hammocks, mode of taking care of the sick, baking bread and making wine, dances, tents, and the trees. One of the pictures is a gruesome commentary upon both natives and colonists. It depicts the savages pouring molten gold down the throat of a Spanish captive. The book was reprinted in various languages, during the sixteenth century. The Library already had copies of the first and second Latin editions (Sabin 4792, 4793), published in Geneva in 1578 and 1586 by Eustache Vignon (who published also a French translation). It also had the *Der Neuen Weldt und Indianischen Konigreichs, newe und wahrhafftige History*, issued in Basel in 1597 (Sabin 4797). De Bry incorporated Benzoni's story in his great compilation of descriptions of the Americas.

Two important works have been added to our fine collection of rare books on architecture. One is *L'Architettura*, the first Italian translation of Leon Battista Alberti's *De Re Aedificatoria*, published in Florence in 1550, the other *L'Architecture*, the first edition of Philibert De L'Orme's great work, published in Paris in 1567. Both volumes are profusely illustrated with woodcuts and diagrams.

Alberti was both an artist and a humanist, one of the chief representatives of the early Renaissance. Born in 1404 in Venice of a noted Florentine family which was exiled by the Albizzi, he returned to Florence at the age of forty, under Cosimo de



Medici. In Rome, Pope Nicholas V employed him in the restoration of the Papal Palace and in the construction of the Fountain of Trevi. One of his outstanding works is the church of San Francesco at Rimini. He designed also the church of San Sebastiano at Mantua and the façade of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, and built the Palazzo Rucellai in that city. His work on architecture, finished in 1452, first circulated in manuscript, and was not printed until three decades after its original appearance. It is divided into ten books — the first treats of design; the second, of materials; the third to the fifth, of construction; the sixth, of ornaments in general; the seventh to the ninth, of ornaments proper to churches, public buildings, and private houses; and the tenth, of repairs and alterations. The most valuable parts are those which supplement Vitruvius. Alberti was the first to formulate the structure of vaults. Similarly, he gave a great deal of attention to the orders of columns, which he presented on the basis of his measurements of Roman monuments.

The woodcuts of the volume were undoubtedly executed after Alberti's own drawings. Among them are two folding plates illustrating the rules of building towers. Square towers, Alberti thought, should be six and round ones four diameters in height; however, he considered the most beautiful tower the one which combined both forms, so that over a square base round stories follow, and above these again a square one, consisting of four open arches, while the whole is capped by a little round temple with a dome. The illustrations include capitals, doors, bridges, and tombs, besides designs for landscape and city planning. The printer of the book, Lorenzo Torrentino, was celebrated for the beauty of his publications.

Philibert De L'Orme (Delorme) was the greatest architect of the French Renaissance. A native of Lyons, he spent several years of his youth in Rome, in the service of Pope Paul III. Upon his return to France, François I appointed him royal architect, a position which he held also under Henri II. He supervised the erection of the palaces of Fontainebleau and St. Germain, constructed a part of the Tuileries, built the Château d'Anet for Diane de Poitiers and the gallery of Chenonceaux for Catherine de Medici. The difficulty of procuring columns from single blocks, which had to be imported from a distance,

led him to the invention of the so-called "French column," composed of several drum-shaped sections, the joints of which are covered with bands of molding. De L'Orme invented also a new system of timber work, uniting solidity with lightness and economy. It consisted of using arches of white wood (fir, poplar, linden, etc.), which he joined end to end. Placed according to the weight of the roofs they had to support, his arches lean on the walls. Each arch, being independent, can be replaced, in case of deterioration, without affecting the whole. As the underneath part of the roofing was free, the arches were used also for decorative purposes. The illustrations of the volume are magnificent, showing façades of châteaux and palaces, with the proportion of their windows and doors. There are a good many designs of fireplaces, one of a monumental size, decorated with cherubs.

A number of other fine early French books have been acquired. The following may be mentioned:

The first edition of the *Roman de la Rose* in the revision of Clément Marot was published in Paris by Galliot du Pré in 1526. It is a folio of 144 leaves, printed in double columns, and illustrated with 92 woodcuts. Marot's intention was to restore the much admired but antiquated poem to "a better state and more expedient form," and he accomplished the work during his imprisonment at Chartres. To be sure, he perfected the meter, but at the expense of the original flavor of the poem. However, the revision was well received, being three times reprinted in the next twelve years. This is the earliest edition of the great medieval romance in the Library, which, unfortunately, does not have a manuscript copy or any of the fifteenth-century editions.

The first French translation of Boccaccio's *Genealogiae Deorum*, published by Antoine Vérard in 1498, was reissued in 1531 by Jehan Petit. Like the first edition, it is a folio of 234 leaves, printed in double columns with bâtarde types. The woodcuts, too, are the same as in the first edition. Thirteen of them are of full-page size, and twenty-four are smaller, occupying about one-half of a column. All are drawn in strong lines and with a fine sense of perspective. Vérard, like most of the other printers of the period, used his cuts over and over again,

some of them eight or ten times. These illustrations come chiefly from his *Boèce* and *Bible des Poètes* (like the three hooded figures sitting on a throne; and the demons, chased by an angel, gamboling in the flames).

The *Croniques d'Anjou* by Jean Bourdigné, printed by Antoine Couteau in Paris in 1529, is a source book of considerable scholarly value. It begins, like all such chronicles, with the Deluge; but soon the writer reaches the age of Charlemagne, and then concentrates on the events which befell the Anjou realm. Fulk the Red and his successors are the leading figures of the tenth to twelfth centuries. The fights with Henry I, the King of England, are told in great detail, until in 1154 the son of Geoffrey the Handsome was recognized as Henry II of England. The story is carried to the reign of René, whose court was one of the most brilliant in the kingdom of France. The volume is handsomely printed. Its frontispiece is a large woodcut, representing the lords of the kingdom in assembly, presided over by a woman who, according to Proverbs, "teaches her household." The imprint gives the names of two "honest" booksellers of Angers who sold the volume.

The first book of emblems has been ascribed to Andrea Alciati, the Italian jurist (1492-1550). It was printed in Augsburg in 1531, and went through at least ninety editions before the end of the century. The Library has acquired a copy of the *Livret des Emblemes*, the first edition of the French version, published in 1536 by Chrétien Wechel in Paris. The attractive little volume includes the Latin text in italics on one page, and the French translation in bâtarde types on the opposite page. Each woodcut fills half a page. In their firm composition and round lines, these fine pictures reflect the influence of Holbein.

One should mention also the second edition of that well-known book on hunting, *La Vénérerie* by Jacques du Fouilloux, published by Galliot du Pré in 1573. The book begins with a description of the many varieties of dogs, then proceeds to observations on the nature and habits of wild animals. It gives particular attention to stag hunting, with instructions for pursuing the quarry and killing it at bay; then follow chapters on boar and fox hunting. There are fifty-eight woodcuts, several of which occupy a whole page, and the rest, half a page. An



**Libro de boecio feuerino inti-**  
**tulado dela cōsolacion dela**  
**philosophia: agora nue-**  
**uamente traduzido de**  
**latien castellano por**  
**estilo nūca ante vi-**  
**sto ē españa. va**  
**el metro ē co-**  
**plas y la p-**  
**saporme**  
**dida.**

*Spanish Version of De Consolatione Philosophiae, Seville, 1518*







English version by George Turberville appeared in London in 1611.

It is a pleasure to announce the acquisition of two works by Jacques Callot, the great French etcher — the *Vita Beatae Mariae*, published in 1626, and *Les Misères et les Malheurs de la Guerre*, published in 1633. They are described elsewhere in this issue.

CONNOISSEURS of printing regard the 1745 Venice edition of Tasso's *La Gerusalemme Liberata* as "the most beautiful eighteenth-century Italian book." It is a large folio printed with handsome types and containing superb illustrations by Giambattista Piazzetta (1683-1754). Each canto is preceded by a full-page copper engraving, and begins and ends with elaborate head- and tail-pieces. The Library's copy, with fresh impressions of the plates, and in its eighteenth-century binding, is truly impressive.

Of course, the artist could select only single episodes from the immense tangle of events; yet they depict the development of the epic. Thus the illustration for the first canto shows the council of the chiefs electing Godfrey as the commander of the Christian forces; then in succession one sees Clorinda interceding for the life of Sophronia before Aladine; her encounter with Tancred under the walls of Jerusalem; Armida, niece of the King of Damascus, artfully seeking Godfrey's protection; her leaving the camp, accompanied by warriors; Erminia, distressed with fear for Tancred, leaves the city; she receives help from a shepherd; a Dane brings news of the destruction of the Danish army; the Christians defeat the army of Solymán; the Sultan is carried to Jerusalem in a magical chariot; Godfrey, hit by Clorinda's arrow, is taken to his tent; Clorinda, mortally wounded by Tancred, receives baptism from his hand; Tancred meets the spirit of Clorinda in the enchanted wood; a Christian wizard instructs Godfrey's messengers how to find Rinaldo; the two knights arrive at the island of Armida; they behold Rinaldo dallying with her; Armida urges the Caliph to attack the Christians; Rinaldo is graciously received by Godfrey; Tancred kills the Saracen hero Argantes and falls into a swoon; and finally the battle in which the Christians defeat the Pagans, with Armida yielding to Rinaldo.

An Aldine edition of Apuleius and Alcinous, published in one volume in Venice in 1521, is particularly attractive on account of its cameo binding. In the center of the covers is impressed a bust of Alexander the Great, surrounded by a frame of ornamental stamps. Such bindings were much in vogue in Italy in the sixteenth century; and sometimes the impressions were made from ancient cameos. They were the forerunners of the so-called Canevari binding (named after the Genoese collector), which boasted plaquettes often enamelled in colors. The Aldine volumes of the classics, printed with the newly-invented italic types, were relatively cheap. In the compass of this small octavo one may find the main works of Apuleius — his *Metamorphoses* (Golden Ass) as well as his *Florida*, an anthology of tracts on the god of Socrates, the doctrines of Plato, and so on. Alcinous's introduction to the Platonic philosophy occupies the last 28 leaves.

Jodocus Badius, Professor of Greek and Latin and an associate of the printer Jean Trechsel at Lyons, composed a satire entitled *Navicula Stultorum Mulierum*. It was a "take-off" on Sebastian Brant's *Navis Stultifera*, which had recently made a great hit in both Germany and France. The subject, however, was the folly of women. In order to make the work available for women, Jean Drouyn translated it into French; and it was this version which was first published in Paris in 1498, by Marnef. Three other editions followed, and in 1501 the Latin original appeared, reprinted next year, with seven half-page woodcuts, by Johann Prüss at Strassburg. The Library has acquired a copy of the Strassburg edition — an amusing companion-piece to Brant's work, of which it already had a first edition.

Pamphilus Gengenbach's *Von einem Waldbruder* ("The Hermit") is of the second edition of a carnival play, published in 1522 probably in Augsburg. It was first printed under the title *Der Nollhart*, and was performed on Shrove Sunday of 1517 in Basel. The work is a series of dialogues, in which the author "reveals" to the heads of Christendom the fate awaiting them. St. Methodius, St. Birgitta of Sweden, and the Sibyl, who appear as interlocutors, help him in the task of prophesying. A curious feature of the volume is the cancel slip tipped in on the recto of leaf C. Since Maximilian died in 1519, it was necessary to

alter a prophecy about a future emperor from "he will be named Maximilian" to "he descends through God from Maximilian." This is what the cancel slip accomplished. The title-page is filled with the woodcut of a hermit holding two curling scrolls with the exhortations "Keep brotherly love. Avoid selfishness. Love God. Love thy neighbor as thyself."

By the beginning of the sixteenth century interest in the Hebrew language was wide-spread among the humanists of Western Europe. Reuchlin's *Rudimenta Hebraica* was published in 1506; the Genoa Psalter, in 1516; and the six great folios of the first polyglot Bible, prepared under the patronage of Cardinal Ximenes, appeared in 1517. In Paris the newly established Collège de France undertook the study and teaching of Hebrew as well as Greek and Latin. The little volume *Alphabetum Linguae Sanctae* (Paris, 1532) by Jean Chéradame, with its elementary information about the Hebrew letters, is merely a symbol of the movement.

There were at least four fifteenth-century editions of the Spanish translation of Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae* (at Toulouse, Lerida (?), and Seville), and one appeared in 1511; but among the rarest is the first edition of the version by Alberto de Aguayo, a Dominican of Cordova, published by Juan Kronberger in Seville in 1518. Although the larger part is printed as prose, the entire text can be divided into verses of octosyllabic lines. The upper part of the title-page is occupied by a fine woodcut representing Boethius among his disciples. Another interesting Spanish item is the *Aviso de Caçadores*, the first edition of a treatise on Spanish laws relating to hunting, compiled by Nuñez de Avendaño and printed at Alcalà in 1543.

IF space would permit, it would be easy to bring together a fine assemblage of early books on Ireland from the many holdings of the Library in the field. As it is, the project has to wait till a better day. But meanwhile, a number of rare Irish items have been purchased. The most valuable among them is *An Biobla Naomhtha*, a translation of the Bible into Irish, printed in London with Roman types in 1690. It is a small duodecimo, with separate title-pages for each Testament. The Library had

already owned the first edition of the translation printed in Irish characters, the New Testament in 1681 and the Old in 1685. William Bedel, who made the Old Testament version, was a graduate of Emmanuel College at Cambridge. For years he served as chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, the British ambassador to the Venetian Republic; and it was in Venice that he deepened his knowledge of Hebrew by association with learned Jews. Later he became Provost of Trinity College in Dublin, and then Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh. He died in 1642. William O'Domhnuill, the translator of the New Testament, was a native of Kilkenny. In 1609 he was made Archbishop of Tuam, where he died in 1628. Before publication the translations were competently revised by Robert Kirke, a noted Gaelic scholar.

Sir James Ware, Auditor-General of Ireland, was responsible for the publication of a folio, printed in Dublin in 1633, which unites the histories of the country written by Edmund Spenser, the poet, Edmund Campion, the famous Jesuit, and Meredith Hanmer, a Dublin theologian. Spenser's *A View of the State of Ireland* was printed first; however, the publisher changed his mind and, under the title *Two Histories of Ireland*, placed the other narratives in front of the volume. The Library's copy once belonged to William, the third Marquess of Lothian, who in 1641 and 1645 served in Ireland as Lord Lieutenant of the Scottish forces stationed there.

Spenser's work, written in 1596, is in the form of a dialogue between Eudoxus and Irenaeus, the former an apologist and the latter a critic of the Irish. From page 40 on, there are marginal notes by Ware; the notes for the first forty pages are at the end. The last leaves contain extracts from the *Fairie Queene* about the rivers and woods of Ireland. Edmund Campion left Oxford, where he had been a teaching fellow, and moved to Dublin in 1569. His history extends from legendary beginnings to his own day. Evelyn Waugh, in his biography of Campion, regards the *History of Ireland* as "a superb piece of literature, comparable in vigor and rhythm to anything written in his day." Certainly the volume, especially in the earlier parts, abounds in racy stories. To quote an example: "In some corners of the land," the author writes, "they used a damnable superstition, leaving the right armes of their Infants males unchristened (as they tearmed it)

to the intent it might give a more ungracious and deadly blow." This is the only complete work of Campion's in English that has survived. Hanmer's *Cronicle of Ireland*, cut short by the writer's death in the plague of 1604, is more on the dullish side.

A little quarto published at Cork in 1721, *Pietas Corcagiensis*, describes the Green-Coat Hospital and other charitable foundations of St. Mary Brandon, Cork, telling of their organization and progress. Two folding plates show views of the buildings. *Letters Concerning the Northern Coast of Antrim*, by William Hamilton, is a geological treatise, written in the form of epistles. The plates depict rocky promontories. The Dublin edition of the work was printed in 1740. Daniel A. Beaufort was the author of *A Memoir of a Map of Ireland*, Dublin 1792. The map in question was drawn by Beaufort because he wished to correct the errors of the old maps. "The coasts and harbors of India and America," he complains, "are better known and more correctly laid down than those of Ireland." The index of places, with the names of the counties, baronies, and dioceses to which they belong, extends to seventy-one pages, no less.

And finally there is the essay on the *Origin of the Irish Pillar-Tower* by Colonel Hervey de Montmorency-Morres, London 1821. The author proposes the theory that the pillar towers were the work "of Greek and Roman pilgrims and monks who preceded, accompanied, or followed" the earliest Irish patriarchs! The last page has a note in the Colonel's hand, deprecating the effort of his engraver who gave "a much too slender figure" to the tower of Devenis.

(To be concluded)



# The Journal of a Whaling Voyage

By MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

“THERE she blows! There she blows!” was the war-cry of the Nantucket whalers when a whale was sighted from the masthead. The whaling industry of the first half of the nineteenth century is the most romantic chapter in New England maritime history. Whereas it has its odyssey in Melville’s great *Moby Dick*, the records of the voyages must be looked for in the unpretentious log-books of the ships’ captains. These logs were required by the ships’ owners, and had to be delivered to them when the voyages were completed. A large number of them have been preserved in the Essex Institute at Salem and in the Whaling Museum and the Library at New Bedford. With satisfaction it may now be noted that the Boston Public Library has acquired a genuine specimen: “A Journal of a Voyage from Nantucket towards the South Seas and elsewhere” by the ship *Alexander*, kept by her Captain Samuel Bunker.

It is a large folio of 256 pages, in the original cover of dark brown boards and leather back. The volume consists of brief dated entries, on an average five to a page, in the careful hand and extraordinary spelling of the Captain. Little drawings, shaded in wash, abound throughout the text, representing the flukes of whales or whole whales. But far more important are the large views of shore lines, mountains, harbors, etc., several of which appear in the text and more than a dozen, each occupying a page, at the end.

The *Alexander* set sail from Nantucket on September 13, 1827 and returned there on March 12, 1831. A record exists of the *Alexander’s* having previously sailed, under the same captain, on July 24, 1824 and returned on June 17, 1827. This means that it stayed scarcely three months in port before starting out again on a voyage of three and a half years. The laconic entries, in which a rare “I was worried” represents the climax of articulate emotion, leave to the imagination the tension and the grinding toil of the Captain and his mates.

The whaling ships, which provided oil for lamps, were nearly as important through the middle of the past century as the electric companies of today. Nantucket showed its interest in the industry as early as 1690 and, although the first systematic whaling started from Long Island, Nantucket was its center until New Bedford began to rival it after 1815. The typical whaling ship was a bark with fore and mainmasts square-rigged and the mizzen (hind) mast fore and aft rigged, with whaling-boats attached ready to lower at the signal.

Considering that a single whale head might be worth \$10,000 to \$16,000, the whalers were treasure-hunters. And the greatest desideratum was the sperm whale. In classifying the different types of whales, the author of *Moby Dick* hit upon the device of bibliothetical terms: he divided them into folio, octavo, and duodecimo whales, using chapters for subdivisions. Among the folio whales are the Sperm Whale, the Right Whale, the Fin-Back, and the Sulphur Bottom Whale. Of the Sperm Whale, or Cachelot, Melville says that "he is, without doubt, the largest inhabitant of the globe; the most formidable of all whales to encounter; the most majestic in aspect; and lastly, by far the most valuable in commerce; he being the only creature from which that valuable substance, spermaceti, is obtained." The sperm-whale had a single spout, and the blowing out of its breadth was what caused the cry: "thar she blows!" At this signal the boats were lowered, each manned by a crew of six, armed with harpoons. The "irons" were sunk into the whale, but did not always kill him immediately. It was the desperate wounded whale, swishing his mighty fluke, which most endangered the boats. When the whale was finally killed, the blubber had to be cut from the body, the oil boiled out in the "try-works" on the deck, and then poured into barrels.

The *Alexander*, as the place names in the log entries show, sailed down the east coast of South America, round the Horn, and headed for the coast of Japan. On March 28 the Captain recorded: "Squaired our yards for Jappan with a fine brease." From there, sailing eastward again, they anchored in the harbor of Oahu of the Hawaian Archipelago, stopped at ports on the coast of California and at the Galapagos Islands and sailed south along the coast of Peru.

IT will be best to let the log speak for itself. The battles with the whales and the disciplinary proceedings against the sailors lurk between the routine reports on the weather, the direction of the winds, and the records of latitude and longitude. The latter were obligatory. A note, written in the sky of a primitive chart of Huahina reads: "Ship masters should be particular to record the Latitude & Longitude of the anchoring places at the various ports they visit and greatly oblige — yr. obdt Servant."

On January 25, 1828, the log-keeper wrote: "At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 10 raised [saw] spirm whales put off struck 8 whales saved [here five whales are pictured] school whales at 5 p.m. got them cabled." On February 25 he recorded: "Put John Manwaring into the main riging and gave him stripes with foar part of spunyarn for putting a boys cap into a bucket of tar at 6 p.m. saw black fish put off saw nothing more."

In the entry for March 11 is an account of the chores that followed the exertions of the chase: "Put off struck and saved one 50 barrel whale at 3 p.m. got him along side and cabled at 4 p.m. hooke on [picture of whale] at 6 p.m. got the head off and body in middl part imployed in cutting the blubber at daylight took in the head and began boiling Veared Ship to S.W."

There was no rest for the ship master. When he was not engaged in the chase and its aftermath, he was "imployed in repairing a boat," "imployed in scraping and blacking chanes [chains]," "imployed in Ships duty." On a number of Sundays — but not all — he was "imployed in keeping the Sabath."

On August 21, 1829 the entry reads: "Saw two whales put off struck both got the head of one boat cut off by a lose whale and Mr. Hacket badly hurt but no bones broke . . ." And on the 26th: "At daylight raised [saw] a whale kept off at 9 A.M. loard [lowered] struck a large whale got two boats badly stove." At times the whale had the advantage. On September 9 the master wrote: "Strong breezes whale going quick did not loar [lower]." At the side of this entry is one of the many drawings of a fluke, which look like decorative wings. On October 29 the log records: "Came to an ancor at 9 A.M. off woahoo [Oahu?]," and for subsequent days the Captain made the same brief entry: "These 24 hours fine weather and gentle breezes."

The fine weather may have raised the spirits of some of the men too high. On November 3 is this record: "First Part deserted Micail Brunnin put Thomas Vassalt in the main riging and gave him one dozen lashes for his lying and abusive language put him in Irons and put him in the run he said he would not do any more duty this voyage latter Part took him out and gave him 6 lashes with a cat with nine tales."

On December 5 the log reads: "Took our ancor and towed the Ship up to Montaray harbor came to ancor in 6½ fathoms water found a rushan [Russian] brig here." Russian traders had a center at Fort Ross. It must be remembered that at this time California belonged to Mexico.

On January 9, 1830 the entry is: "Could not git down to St. barbara before midnight kept off for Chequetanco steered S E by E . . . at 12 passed betwixt St. Cruze and a small Island to the E.ward." On January 12: "Raised whales put off struck and kiled 4 whales saved 3 came on night left the other wafed." A waif was a small flag on a stick which was stuck into the blubber of a killed whale to identify ownership. On the first of February: "Sent a boat in to try to find the harbor of Chequetan at 7 P.M. boat returned and had found the harbor and sounded it out found some Injans on shore."

March began very auspiciously: "Raised whales put off struck and kiled 9 whales saved 7 two sunk." Only the seven "saved" whales are shown swimming on the page. In August, when the *Alexander* was anchored at Payta, disciplinary problems again loomed large: "Caught Robert Hathaway and took him on board . . . put Osborn Prat in the Mizen riging and gave him one dozen lashes with a cat with nine tales for stowing himself away two months betwixt decks and Robert Hathaway one dozen for deserting in Payta."

A more amiable feature is the continuous record of ships "spoken" — that is, hailed as they were passed on the seas. Most of them were from Nantucket or New Bedford, and some from New London, Connecticut, from Sag Harbor, Long Island, and other ports. One is reminded of Longfellow's lines:

Ships that pass in the night, and speak each other in passing,  
Only a signal shown and a distant voice in the darkness.

The names of the ships and their captains are given. Thus:



"Spoke the Rodman Capt. Joy" from New Bedford; "spoke Constitution Capt [Alexander] Coffin" from Nantucket; "spoke Ship Pocahontas of Falmouth Capt. Swift," and so on. On April 20, 1830: "Let the Rebecca Sims [New Bedford] have some water."

At the end of the volume are the lists of the ships spoken, and of those "herd of at Payton"; of the amount of oil taken in; accounts of provisions purchased and of other odd expenditures. Records of exchanges with other ships are also given: "Got of Ship Swift Capt Coffin 2 barrels of Bread 7 barrels of Flour  $\frac{1}{2}$  barrel Sugar" and, in return, "Let Ship Swift Capt Coffin have 3 B. Hoops." Naturally — the good ship *Swift*, Captain Barzillai Coffin, was also from Nantucket.

THE full-page illustrations, or rather embellished charts, somewhat in the style of the old Portolan atlases, are drawn with skill. Two of them especially, those of Monterey and San Francisco, are to be highly prized as among the earliest maps of any part of California. "A View of Monterey" and "A View of St. Cruce" are opposite each other, presumably as seen from the entrance to the harbor. On both views small houses, touched with blue and gray wash are shown, and on either side a house standing a little apart is marked "mishon." Fringing the outline of the harbor, a row of trees is sketched in pencil. Like the view of the Rio Janeiro harbor, the harbor of St. Francisco is represented by an unillustrated chart, with the exception of two small squares marked "fort" and again the plain little house designated as "mishon." The views of several islands, such as Easter Island and Chatham Island with the Kicker Rock, are outline drawings filled in with solid shading in pencil. In the view of Byron's Bay, a small square-rigged ship appears, which is accurately and ably drawn.



## Additions to the Print Department

By PAUL B. SWENSON

SINCE the last exhibition of recent acquisitions held during October 1954, the Print Department has continued to enlarge its collection by the addition of outstanding works dating from the late nineteenth century to the present. Emphasis has been placed upon the French School with a number of the younger, less well-known artists being represented, along with such famous men as Cézanne, Vuillard, Bonnard, Forain, Signac, and Villon.

It has long been the policy of the Print Department to acquire examples of the work which seems best to represent the various periods of print-making. This is not always an easy task, considering that this is an epoch during which print-making, like all other phases of artistic development, is in the midst of unprecedented experimentation. Typical of today's prints are those which introduce the use of creative imagination in both the technical handling and the subject matter itself. Even when depicting more conventional or recognizable subjects, the artists have sought to treat them in a manner which is fresh and personal — an approach which is definitely a shift away from the work of the more direct pictorial representation of earlier periods.

It is still too soon to hazard a guess as to how the future will regard these prints the content of which, at times, may seem strange and unfamiliar. It is therefore a challenge, when adding contemporary works to a permanent public collection, to attempt to select only those few which seem most certain to have a lasting artistic and educational value. Selection requires a great amount of knowledge of the past in print-making, plus careful judgment and insight in considering which prints from the enormous output of today's artists are most suitable to be preserved for a future record.

From among the more significant works done today, the Print Department has acquired a small group of prints by several younger artists working in France. It is important to consider some of these prints first from a technical viewpoint, since this aspect

of the work is so often a factor of prime importance in attempting to understand just what the artist wishes to convey. Today more and more people are apt to ask just how such and such a print was done, rather than to ask about the subject matter or the artist himself. It is the technical approach, or the method in which the particular visual language and artistic terms have been used. This, in a great measure, affects the results we see as the finished work of art. Secondly, while the subject matter is still of importance, it is hardly the governing factor it was in the past when great religious and historical themes, or the portraits of the heads of state and the aristocracy were demanded of the artist. Today most prints are done by artists working independently of official patronage. Although at times they may fulfill a commission or work of collaboration such as illustrating a book, at such time they will work with the writer and publisher.

A good example of the emphasis on individual endeavor and today's great interest in technique may be seen in the works of such an artist as Henri Georges Adam, born in Paris in 1904. His prints "Le jour" and "La nuit" are carried out with the use of etching and drypoint, which, in this case, introduces the idea of employing a number of separate copperplates instead of the usual single plate, as is the common practice in ordinary black and white etching or drypoint. In these two prints a number of small plates have been cut out in a series of irregular shapes and arranged so as to create a symbolic figure or fantastic personage composed of interesting decorative patterns. With a little imagination, these might be thought of, at least in the sense of the design, as greatly enlarged counterparts of the familiar stylized representations of kings and queens on playing cards. Besides the use of multiple plates, the line work itself involves the use of heavy accents of drypoint and dark areas, which appear to have been bitten with pure nitric acid. These various graphic elements are combined with carefully graduated background tones and, when viewed from a distance, present a strongly unified abstract composition.

Less strange, and of a more direct appeal perhaps to most viewers, are two prints by Zao-Wou-Ki, a young Chinese artist now living in France. His art is deeply rooted in the cultural traditions of the Orient. In making a simple comparison of



*Kaethe Kollwitz*

"Mother with Child in Arms"  
Lithograph by Kaethe Kollwitz



either of his two prints in this exhibition with any number of Chinese works, especially those from the great Sung dynasty, one will note a similar awareness of and interest in nature. The Chinese have always been inclined to interpret nature with subtlety and restraint, in a way very different from the more obvious imitations which many western artists have practiced. Also to be seen in the Zao-Wou-Ki prints in the Library's collection are a light-handed delicacy in the handling of the color-lithographic technique and an overall feeling of quietude and repose which characterizes this artist.

Another interesting print done recently in France is by Johnny Friedlaender. It employs a copperplate which has been used at an earlier period, possibly by some artist in the eighteenth or nineteenth century. Traces of a sea-scape show through Friedlaender's work, producing a rather sombre atmospheric effect. The subject is a lady holding a cat, both expressed in very stylized terms. Another print by the same artist shows a cat done in a similar way, but with a suggestion of that subtle humor which is found frequently in prints by many contemporary artists. There is a fondness for using animal, bird, and fish as subjects to an extent which again recalls the art of the Orient in which these creatures often assume great pictorial and symbolic importance.

Other works in this group are by Hans Erni, François Desnoyer, and Pierre Eugène Clarin. They are all carried out in a distinctly personal stylistic idiom, and each one, even taking into consideration its rather large size, is typical of the best work done in France today.

Also included in the exhibition are graphic works by several earlier French masters. The late André Derain is represented by three black and white lithographs, all showing his enormous power of draftsmanship, sympathy for the models, and complete command of the lithographic technique.

A superb proof of the second state of the famous "Une Matinée d'Hiver au Quai de l'Hôtel Dieu," more commonly known as "The Cab Stand," by Félix Buhot is a welcome addition to the three states of this plate already in the collection. These include a rare proof (one of only four) of the first state, a special signed proof of the fourth state, and the sixth state. It



is fascinating to compare the various states and observe the many compositional changes made during the progress of the work. This print, with its strong atmospheric quality of a rainy day in late nineteenth-century Paris, is in many respects the very essence of Buhot's entire creative activity and can safely be termed one of the great etchings of all time.

Space does not permit mention of all the artists whose works have recently come into the collection, but among the remaining ones of particular distinction are two early etchings by James McNeill Whistler, six etchings of Old Testament episodes by Marc Chagall, and a set of wood-engravings from the Old Testament by Fritz Eichenberg. The Department's collection of Kaethe Kollwitz is increased by a number of large etchings and lithographs. "After the Battle," an etching printed in dark green ink, is one of the most moving from a series of prints characterized by a bitter denunciation of war such as one will find only in the work of Goya, Callot, and a few others. In sharp contrast to this print, Kollwitz is seen in one of her rare joyous moods in the lithograph entitled "Mother with Child in Arms."

Not to be dismissed lightly is the work of a number of American printmakers. The best of these stand up well, both as technical and artistic achievements, when compared with the graphic arts of Europe. Two are added to the collection by way of the Albert H. Wiggin Memorial Prizes, awarded in connection with the October 1954 exhibition of the Boston Printmakers held at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. One of these is a striking woodcut in black, white, and gray, by Carol Summers of New York City and titled "Siennese Landscape." The other award is called "Recuerdo," a color serigraph by Veva Porter of Modesto, California. These, together with the above mentioned Eichenberg prints and others by Stow Wengenroth, Nora Unwin, Gertrude Quastler, Janet Turner, John Bernhardt, and John Wilson, testify to the abilities and creative energies typical of artists from all parts of the United States.

## Notes on Rare Books

### Works by Jacques Callot

**A**MONG the Library's recent acquisitions are two books by the great French etcher, Jacques Callot (1592-1635) — an emblem book, *Vita Beatae Mariae*, and *Les Misères et les Malheurs de la Guerre*, one of his most famous works. The Life of the Virgin Mary is a quarto of 27 leaves, published in 1626. François Langlois brought out a second edition in 1646, the same year that he printed posthumously another emblem book by Callot, *Lux Claustri* (a copy of which has long been in the Library). The *Miseries of War* was published by the artist's friend, Israel [Henriet] in Paris in 1633, and is of the second issue, having eighteen plates numbered, and each inscribed with three couplets by Michel de Marolles, abbé de Villeloin. (The first issue has no numbering and no verses.) The etchings are mounted in an album bearing the crest of Gilbert Elliot, the second Earl of Minto.

Callot's influence reached far ahead to the Romantics. In his series of etchings, "Los Desastres de la Guerra" (1810), Goya represented the sufferings caused by the French Revolution, as Callot did two centuries earlier the miseries of the Thirty Years' War. E. T. A. Hoffmann recalled in his *Phantasiestücke in Callots Manier*, in 1814, the bizarre forms of the French engraver's clowns and dwarfs. But Callot's work is unforgettable in any age.

He was born in Lorraine, where his father was herald-at-arms under Duke Charles III. At twelve, he secretly left home and travelled with a band of gypsies from Rome to Florence, where he began to study art, until his relatives retrieved him. Two years later he escaped to Turin, but again he was discovered and brought back. After a time his parents became reconciled to the ambitions of their son, whom they had destined for the Church, like his four brothers, or for a career in the government. Then Callot went to Italy with the Duke's envoy, who was on his way to the Papal Court. In Rome he studied with Philip Thomasin, mastering the art of design and the use of the graver and point. After a second interval in Florence, in 1621 he returned to Nancy, where he stayed for eight years at the Court. By then he was well known and appreciated. The Infanta Isabella of the Low Countries commissioned him to illustrate the siege of Breda. In 1633 Louis XIII of France requested him to com-

memorate the recent invasion of Lorraine. "I would rather cut off my thumb," the artist replied, "than do anything against the honor of my prince and of my country." Whereupon the King remarked that the Duke of Lorraine was fortunate in such a subject.

Callot died at the age of forty-three, having completed about 1600 plates, the etchings generally considered the finest. His work is characterized by an ingenious composition of figures in a small space, by delicately suggested, haunting perspectives, and by the variety, freedom, and compassion of his ideas.

The writer of the verses of the *Vita Beatae Mariae* is unknown. His naïve quatrains celebrate the events of the Virgin's life. Callot's etchings are landscapes, dimensionally small (three by three and a half inches), but large in conception. They are simply drawn, usually with one figure in the foreground. The first shows a salamander in flames, and the accompanying verse tells how the Virgin, like the salamander who lives in a fiery atmosphere, lived in the "common brazier" of the world without corruption. The second emblem depicts a ship listing in a storm, and the verse explains that Mary, like the mariner's star, gives men courage. The third is a graceful countryside over which the sun is rising: the first light of the East promises dawn, as the Savior is promised to the world. The last emblem pictures a river threading open fields and towns: as the Nile inundates the land of Egypt, leaving it fertile, so Mary sends the human race good things.

The *Lux Claustri*, which is dedicated to Augustine Joyeulx, a Carthusian monk, is a book of maxims for members of religious orders. "Against the wolf's tooth, the thief's hand, the shepherd hazards his life; and so does the good prelate," is a typical example. The verses give a new turn to old ideas, as the one beneath a picture of a cat eyeing a bird: "The captive bird sings in the high place, without fearing the watchful cat; so, despite all demons, the monk fears God and blesses his voluntary prison." An interesting expression of the ascetic life is the emblem of a nightingale resting on a thorny tree:

Invincible en son chant le Rossignol se perche  
L'estomach sur l'espine, affin de s'efueiller.  
Le bon Religieux au lieu de sommeiller,  
Benit Dieu jour, & nuict, & sa grace recherche.

These illustrations seem more "emblematic" than the pastoral miniatures of the *Vita Beatae Mariae*. A sheepfold with a wolf crouching outside the fence, where a single eye gazes down from

the height of a pole, introduces the quality of strangeness often associated with these devices. A mermaid blowing a horn to charm ships onto the rocks, as the world charms whom she would destroy, is typical of the emblematisers' use of myths. Yet all the plates employ symbols from the natural world: eagles, dolphins, snails, serpents, deer swimming through a stream, and so on.

*Les Misères de la Guerre* is sometimes called "Les Grandes Misères" to distinguish it from a smaller series of seven pieces. The detail of these etchings is incredible. Hundreds of minute forms are arranged in a single scene, measuring about seven and a half by three inches, all in motion, yet all clearly defined.

The story told by the plates fulfills the title. It begins with the conscription of an army and the drilling of the recruits in camp. Soon they are engaged in battle. Clouds of smoke cover the field on which cavalrymen fight, and foot-soldiers move in from the right. After the encounter, the soldiers raid an inn, and are seen as the host and maids drive them out with their plunder. A scene of violence in a large house follows, in which the figure of a man hangs by the heels from a spit over a tremendous fire. Next, soldiers pillage a monastery, emptying the church of its treasures, and leaving it in flames. Horsemen carry off some of the nuns, while one foot-soldier marches away, clad in a chasuble, a large missal under his arm. The peasants' villages are no more safe from marauders. Stealing their goods and animals, the soldiers take wagon-loads of prisoners and leave the cottages burning. Other bands of soldiers take ambush in the forests, where they attack travellers.

With the ninth plate, the direction changes. Now the soldiers' crimes are punished with an equal severity. The provost of the camp arrests a column of thieves and bandits. In a public square the offenders are made to sit on a wooden horse, or are strung up on a scaffold. From a great tree, twenty-two thieves are hanging by their necks. Traitors are shot; those who desecrated churches are burned at the stake. Bound to a wheel, the murderers of peasants are hacked to death by the executioner's sword. In a city square men beg for admittance to a hospital. All are maimed, stumbling without limbs.

The last plate represents the King sitting on his throne. After all that has gone before, honors are awarded.

CORNELIA DORGAN



## Mathematics by Ghetaldi

A RARE volume, of interest to the bibliographer as well as the historian of science, has been acquired for the Bowditch Collection, the *De Resolutione & compositione mathematica* by Marino Ghetaldi was printed in Rome in the office of the Camera Apostolica in 1630. The large folio of 343 pages is bound in fine brown calf and has on both sides the arms of the great French historian Jacques-Auguste de Thou, those which include the armorial bearings of his second wife, Gasparde de la Chastre. As de Thou died in 1617, the book may have been bound for his youngest son and namesake, or some other descendant.

The work was printed three years after Ghetaldi's death. The editor dedicated it to Thadeus Barberini, a nephew of Pope Urban VIII. The Barberini arms, with three bees and two keys, ornament the title-page, and a delicately engraved bee serves as tail-piece for the dedication. Curiously, the de Thou arms also have three bees. The work is illustrated with numerous diagrams.

In this posthumous work, Marino Ghetaldi, one of the outstanding mathematicians at the turn of the sixteenth century, expounded the application of algebra to the problems of geometry seven years before Descartes, and thus paved the way for the discovery of analytical geometry. A patrician, born in 1566 in the once brilliant city of Ragusa, Ghetaldi studied in Rome with Coignet, Samniato, and Clavius, and then in Paris with François Viète, with whom he formed a lasting friendship. Indeed, in the introduction to the first book of his work, he pays tribute to Viète and on pp. 48 to 50 demonstrates a "Problema Vietae," defending the procedure against the criticism of Clemens Cyriacus. After his Paris studies, Ghetaldi spent six years traveling through different countries of western Europe. He refused several invitations to teach at universities and returned to his villa in Ragusa, where he made astronomical and optical experiments. His *Appolonius redivivus*, *Supplementum Apolloni Galli*, and *Variorum Problematum Collectio* were published at Venice in 1607. He died in 1627, before his great work was quite ready for the printer.

The *De Resolutione & compositione mathematica* is divided into five books, each furnished with an introduction. After this, the author presents the propositions, stating theorems and demonstrating the solution of problems by the algebraic method, which he calls *Resolutio*, and then by geometric construction, which he calls *Com-*



*positio*. The fifth book is further divided into four chapters, presenting problems that require no geometrical operations; "Problemata impossibilia"; "Problemata vana, seu nugatoria" (vain or worthless); and problems which do not fall under the category of algebra and must be solved in the way used by the ancients. (Specialists may be referred to a detailed monograph on Ghetaldi's life and work, "Eine Studie über die Entdeckung der analytischen Geometrie" by Eugen Gelcich in *Abhandlungen der Geschichte der Mathematik*, 4. Heft. Leipzig, 1882.)

Bound with Ghetaldi's work is *Theoremata de Centro Gravitatis Partium Circuli et Ellipsis* by Jean-Charles de la Faille, published by Jan de Meurs at Antwerp in 1632. This quarto of 56 pages has a particular attraction for the bibliophile, as the vignette on the title-page was engraved after a design by Rubens. The work is dedicated to King Philip IV.

De la Faille, born at Antwerp in 1597, entered the Jesuit order at the age of sixteen. He taught mathematics at Dôle, Louvain, and Madrid. One of his pupils was Don Juan of Austria, whom he accompanied to Sicily and Naples. He died in 1662, having published the *Theses mechanicae* (Dôle, 1625), and the treatise in the Library, which is noteworthy as preceding the work on the center of gravity by the Swiss mathematician Paul Guldin, who was reputed to be a pioneer in the field.

MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

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# THE Boston Public Library QUARTERLY

OCTOBER 1955

## Letters from Lady Tennyson

By MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

SOME eighty autograph letters from Emily, Lady Tennyson, recently acquired by the Library, throw light on the home life, habits, and temperament of the Victorian Poet Laureate, and even more on the extraordinarily patient and devoted character of his wife. Most of the letters were written from the Tennysons' estate Farringford in Freshwater at the western end of the Isle of Wight, where they moved in 1853 and which remained their home, for at least the main part of the year, until 1892, the last of the poet's long life. The letters were addressed to Mr. and Mrs. Gatty — mainly to the latter — whose names do not appear in either the two-volume *Memoir* of the poet by his son Hallam Tennyson, or the more compact and more recent biography *Alfred Tennyson* by his grandson Charles Tennyson. Yet the letters now in the Library bear witness to a cordial and sympathetic friendship between the Tennyson family and the Gattys.

Mrs. Alfred Gatty (as the name reads on the title-page of her books) was born in the Rectory at Burnham, Essex, as Margaret Scott, the daughter of the Reverend Alexander John Scott, who was chaplain to Lord Nelson. Left motherless at the age of two, she was brought up in an atmosphere of books by a book-collecting father. She was accomplished in drawing, etching, and illuminating on vellum. In 1839 she married the Reverend Alfred Gatty, with whom she collaborated on the



biography of her father, *Recollections of the Life of the Rev. A. J. Scott, D.D., Lord Nelson's Chaplain*, published in 1842. Nine years later, with the publication of *The Fairy Godmothers, and other Tales*, she began her own career as a writer and editor of books for children and instructive books, such as *Parables from Nature*, illustrated by herself, *British Sea-Weeds, A Book of Emblems*, and *A Book of Sun Dials*. In 1866 she started *Aunt Judy's Magazine*, which was continued, after her death, by one of her daughters.

The Tennyson-Gatty correspondence is a one-sided one, as the letters are all (with the exception of three from the little sons) from Emily Tennyson. From these letters alone it is evident that she wrote for her husband as well as herself, as indeed she was known to do, sparing him the burden of answering the voluminous mail that came from all parts of the English-speaking world. One need only look at the portrait painted by George Frederick Watts (reproduced in the biographies), showing a spare face with high cheek-bones and a meditative expression, a lace kerchief tied over the dark hair in the style of the mistress of a country-house rather than of a lady of fashion, to understand that hers was a selfless nature, capable of infinite devotion. "It was she," her son Hallam wrote, "who became my father's adviser in literary matters . . . With her he always discussed what he was working at; she transcribed his poems; to her and to no one else he referred for a final criticism before publishing . . . It was she who shielded his sensitive spirit from the annoyances and trials of life."

Alfred Tennyson had first met Emily Sellwood in 1836, when she was the bridesmaid of her younger sister Louisa, who married Alfred's brother Charles Tennyson (later known as Charles Tennyson Turner). Early in 1838 Alfred and Emily became engaged, but his uncertain income prevented marriage for a time. For this reason, and possibly also because of the poet's broad religious views, the Sellwood family broke off the engagement in 1840. It was not till nearly ten years later that correspondence was renewed, when the poet sent Miss Sellwood two versions of the lullaby "Sweet and low" to choose which should be inserted in the third edition of the *Princess*. By 1850 Alfred's financial status was greatly improved. On June

1st of that year he published the elegies on his friend Arthur Hallam under the title, chosen by Emily, *In Memoriam*. His grandson suggests that "the study of the poem finally removed Emily's scruples and those of her father," and she and Alfred were married on June 13 of the same year at Shiplake-on-Thames.

THE letters to the Gattys cover a period between November 1858 and February 1873. They are written in a strong, characteristic hand, and seem very spontaneous, frequently overflowing, as they do, into the margins and adding messages or afterthoughts in postscripts. In view of the immense correspondence Lady Tennyson had to master, it is no wonder that the writing occasionally turned into a scrawl. Although the letters are throughout sincere and natural, they are frequently written under pressure because of her poor health.

The first letter, of 8th November 1858, refers to the Gattys' wish to see the poet. "I dare not ask you to run the risk of crossing the [river] Solent," Lady Tennyson wrote, "on the slight chance of finding my husband at home this week." This was apparently the beginning of a congenial acquaintance. On the 26th of November Lady Tennyson writes to Mr. Gatty, thanking him for a book of sermons, and adding: "I do hope that Mrs. Gatty did not suffer from the bad day which she had for her journey on leaving us and I trust some fine day we shall see you both here as we would by no means have so pleasant an acquaintance begin and end in this visit." She hopes that Hallam, her six year old son, will soon write his own thanks. Evidently the little boy had received some kind of child's book of prayers. On November 29 his mother writes:

Hallam makes quite a pet of his prayer-book. We have read the *Poor Incumbent* [a story by Mrs. Gatty published in 1858]. My husband and myself we read it the evening of the day it came and I saw he was touched and he told me that it was the visit of the bishop that had so touched him and as for me this and many other things in it touched me.

In the same letter the writer imparts the news that "the publishing affairs are settled at a 10 per cent commission thanks to Charles Weld's kind exertion in our behalf . . ." Charles

Weld was the husband of Emily Tennyson's sister Anne. Bearing the same date is a letter from little Hallam Tennyson, who apparently had dictated it to his mother, but signed it in a large childish hand. It reads:

Thank you for that nice Prayer-book. The big sea-anemone, its mother swallowed the little one because it had got such a big bit of oyster it could not eat it so its mother got the oyster and spit the little one up again and one day the little one was under the stone and I am afraid it is dead now because it was crushed. Two other little ones came besides but I think one of them is dead. We give them fresh sea water every day fresh from the sea sometimes. Your affectionate little friend Hallam Tennyson.

The poet's grandson records that he was "often to be seen rolling the lawn, cutting new glades through the copses, making little summer-houses out of rushes in the kitchen-garden . . . gravelling the paths or helping the farm men to load the waggons."

On the 6th of December 1858 Lady Tennyson wrote:

You cannot think how sorry we felt when the day turned out so damp that we had to let you go. It seemed cruel inhospitality. The scythe has arrived. A beautiful one it is and Alfred is very grateful for it. It looks as if even I might mow with it . . . You are very kind to think of us as you do in all sorts of ways. Do you know I think I should have rewarded you by getting you hung for murder by slow poison had I gone on taking the Nux Vomica. Two doses of it on two nights following had so poisonous an effect on me. Why will not the homoeopathists find out some kind strengthening globules not poisonous . . . We both of us admire The Hundredth Birthday [perhaps one of Mrs. Gatty's *Legendary Tales* published in 1858?] It is very charming . . . He has read the other tales also, I, you know, have but very little time for reading. — Will an ordinary stone serve to sharpen the scythe . . .

In the following letter of December 13, 1858 the question about parables presumably refers in some indirect way to *Parables from Nature*, a work of Mrs. Gatty's which came out serially in five volumes between 1855 and 1871:

Little Hallam says "Why is Mr. Gatty so kind to us?" and we can do little else than echo the question. Two more gifts since I last wrote! One does feel rather ashamed and very grateful. I have read the Dragonfly and think it fine . . . Do I like Parables? Yes I do. I hold them one of the best forms of teaching but then their amplifications, pleasant to children are to me trifling except with-



*Portrait of Lady Tennyson, by G. F. Watts*





in very strict limitations . . . Naturally, a hint, some Dantesque ellipse is that which suggests most to me, I think.

The writer then tells of her husband's reaction to "The Model Lodging House," probably one of Mrs. Gatty's stories: "'This is a true parson.' We do indeed like to know that the true parson cares for one whom I know to be the True poet. Would that they could see more into each other's souls." Then she tells about some sea creatures, probably in an aquarium, which seem to figure also in the little boys' letters. But apparently the children were not the only members of the household to delight in its silent denizens. "I only take care of them for Alfred. Do not send him the pink one unless it be a creature with a different mode of existence. We shall have no one to take care of it when we leave home." A postscript adds: "Hallam likes Daily Bread very much. He has not quite finished it. He has been reading it after dinner to Alfred. He (Hallam) says that he must write to you. They send love and kisses, both of the boys."

Two letters, of 3 December 1858 and 16 February 1859, are from Lionel, then only about six years old; they seem to be in his own handwriting, but this is not certain. The second of these letters reads:

Thank you for my Valentine, it is a very pretty one. Hallam and I must have them framed. I have begun to read the history that Mr Gatty gave us and it is a nice large print and I like it very much and I thank Mr. Gatty for it and it is not too difficult for me. We have got some new pictures and two photographs and one photograph very pretty with some children on a rainbow and one with two ladies and their faces are very pretty and Mr. Arthur Butler sent them and they came from Rome. Your affectionate Lionel Tennyson.

A postscript to an undated letter from Lady Tennyson, probably of December 1858, reads: "Mr. Gatty has been so good as to send us the Vicar. I am sure we shall both like it very much. He has also taken great trouble about the Grandmother but we do not know how it will be settled. We have not seen the Wright translation . . ."

*The Grandmother* is a pathetic narrative poem of Tennyson's which was first published as "The Grandmother's Apology,"

with an illustration by John Millais, in July 1859 in *Once a Week*. It was reprinted with the shorter title in a volume containing *Enoch Arden* and other poems in 1864, and may be found, with an illustration, in the Boston edition of Tennyson's *Poetical Works* of 1887.

The Tennysons opened their country house to many visitors. One of the most congenial spirits among these was Benjamin Jowett, the liberal Greek scholar, translator of Plato, philosopher, theologian, and, from 1870 on, Master of Balliol College, Oxford. It was Jowett who had suggested to Tennyson the poetic treatment of reminiscent old age, which he carried out in "The Grandmother." On January 12, 1859 Lady Tennyson wrote to Mrs. Gatty: "Alfred has gone out for a long walk with Mr. Jowett so I must ask you to accept from me his best thanks for your beautiful copies of Blake which we all, Mr. Jowett included, admire very much."

She hopes that Mrs. Gatty does not regret living in the northern region:

The advantage of staying among those who have learnt to love and trust us seems to me so very great as to overcome most others, and I suspect when people are equally mated in any degree, that society cannot in reality do so much for them as imagination sometimes whispers it might do.

After telling that she has not been "quite so well again lately," the writer reverts to her husband's affairs: "News that the agreement is signed by the publishers came only yesterday. I hope now they will make amends for all this vexation by much pleasantness." The vexation was with the heirs of the publisher Edward Moxon, who had been making some unjustifiable demands on the poet. Tennyson had therefore made a new arrangement by which the firm received a commission on the sales of the books and relinquishd their share of the profit.

It is surprising that the gentle lady, who seems to have impressed those who knew her as an angel, should use such brutal imagery in her jocular notes as in that of 12th February 1859:

You are not to be broken on the wheel this time nor even hanged drawn and quartered as a false traitor. I don't know whether Mr. Gatty has fled from us as only worthy of some such punishments. He says that he wants the Sunday in London and if he be really honest and true he will prove it by bringing you another day.

After telling of her family's interest in Mr. Gatty, she goes on:

He has been so good as to take charge of The Grandmother who is to be left at Burlington House preparatory to her introduction into the world in company with the May Queen. My boys are with me and have only made me blot my letter. Lionel cried because he had not said good bye to Mr. Gatty.

*The Grandmother*, as seen above, appeared in July of that year in *Once a Week*, but there is no record of the *May Queen's* appearance at the same time. It did appear as an illustrated octavo in November 1860, and again, with chromo-lithographed illumination, as a crown quarto in March 1861. This is the lovely song the first line of which, "You must wake and call me early, call me early, mother dear," is known wherever the English language is spoken. It is a blithe and happy song — but how many who remember it are even aware of its two poignant sequels, "New Year's Eve" and "Conclusion," which are monologues of the young May Queen on her death-bed? The three-poem sequence is in the Boston edition of 1887 with charming illustrations. In a letter of February 25 Lady Tennyson takes up the theme of the two poems again: "Will you tell Mr. Gatty that Charles Weld [the writer's brother-in-law] seems to think that *The Grandmother* and the *May Queen* would be exceedingly dear at 6d and that he recommended a popular selection at 1d? What would you consider the popular poems? I think that a few words of dedication would be well . . ."

Curiously, the volume of selections for popular enjoyment did not appear till 1865. Entitled *A Selection from the Works of Alfred Tennyson, D.C.L., Poet Laureate* it was the first of "Moxon's Miniature Poets" series and the last book of Tennyson's issued by that publisher. The volume was dedicated to the "Working Men of England." (The D.C.L. stands for the honorary Doctor of Civil Law which he received from Oxford in 1855.)

On the 18th of April 1859 the poet's wife wrote:

Alfred has been to town, and has seen a great many people and had great praise of his poems. He went up in order to put them in the Publishers' hands, but returned without having done it fresh troubles having arisen or old ones revived, rumor of sale amongst them. Nothing has therefore been done about the 1st edition either . . .

At the end Lady Tennyson thinks of the labors of her correspondent: "Your task must be very interesting but it is not one which can excuse you for over-work."

ON the 9th of May, 1859 the London *Times* printed a poem "The War" signed only with the letter T. To all intents and purposes, this was a recruiting song, with the refrain:

Form! form! Riflemen form!  
Ready, be ready to meet the storm!  
Riflemen, riflemen form!

The "storm" was Napoleon III and a feared invasion of English shores. One of the stanzas has been quoted as showing the conservative (or reactionary!) state of the poet's mind, but it is hard to say if the attitude was not one simply demanded by the nature of the poem. The stanza reads:

Let your Reforms for a moment go,  
Look to your butts and take good aims.  
Better a rotten borough or so,  
Than a rotten fleet or a city in flames!

To this poem Lady Tennyson refers in her letter of May 9, 1859:

You might have done anything you liked with the Poem, keeping the name secret. Now, I fear, you may possibly be disappointed by seeing it in the *Times*. Charles Weld went off with a copy though it was written for you . . . and afterwards had leave to put it in the *Times* the T not being supposed to mean Tennyson. We rather thought you would at once put it into a northern paper so that it would have appeared first in the north . . .

Now the writer goes on to comment on a practice (or lack of practice) on the part of the poet which would seem almost incomprehensible to authors of today: "Alfred never did contribute to any periodical, has indeed refused many urgent requests to do so as you may imagine. Unless you consider 'contribution' sending such a poem as the Riflemen on a special occasion." On June 3, 1859, after complaining that "Ally" (Alfred) has not been well, she goes on to say:

He was to have taken his proofs up last Saturday but was not able . . . He has also been vexed by learning that the American edition of his books is sold at Paris for three francs. Certainly our



descendants in the far West cannot boast of honesty as one of their good qualities.

In the subsequent letters poor health looms large, especially the coughs that afflicted Lady Tennyson. It is indeed surprising how unhealthy life must have been at that time even for a family living, as the Tennysons did, in a mild sea climate, in a spacious country house, with a large staff of servants (as the grandson describes it) at their disposal. But central heating and the medical knowledge of nine decades later were lacking. The writer tells about alterations on the house at Farringford, especially about "the platform Ally has devised at the top of the house to look at once on the two seas." But new settlers on the island were a cause of annoyance. "The cruel people have built a house between us and the sea."

In two letters of December 1859 occur brief references to Thackeray. "Perhaps Alfred had better write to Mr. Robins and say that he has not yet found anything for his own old friend Mr. Thackeray unless it be a song," Lady Tennyson wrote on December 5, and on December 23 she mentions "the overflowing letters from Mr. Thackeray and Smith and Elders on the promise of a poem." In this connection it may not be amiss to anticipate a letter of more than four years later. In January 1864 Lady Tennyson wrote to her friend:

I cannot but feel that a great and good spirit left us on Christmas eve tho' I could not read his books indeed never read more than the Newcombes and a Christmas Tale, but he loved that which was to be loved and hated that which was to be hated . . . I only saw him three times I think but he was an old friend of Alfred tho' latterly one rarely seen or heard from. His poor daughters are here in a cottage lent them by Mrs. Cameron.

To return to the opening of the year 1860 — a letter written on January 23 of that year gives a pleasant glimpse of the Tennyson home life:

Our boys on the heights of happiness just now having walked into dinner each with a little girl hand in hand. Edith and Daisy Bradley, I was forgetting that you know well about them. I am glad that *Sea Dreams* improves on acquaintance. It is only good things that can do so . . . We have been alone since Mr. Jowett left us this day week. And delightful he is . . . I hope there will be one thing at all events in the *Cornhill Magazine* this month which you



will like Ally's *Tithonus*, a companion poem to *Ulysses*. 75,000 Mr. Smith said have been published for this month and were nearly sold when he wrote some days ago.

The strange narrative poem *Sea Dreams; an Idyll* appeared first in *Macmillan's Magazine* in January 1860. In it, "a city clerk, but gently born and bred" and his wife, seeking health for their little daughter at the sea-shore, tell each other their fantastic dreams. It includes the well-known lullaby,

What does little birdie say  
In her nest at peep of day?

The mythological poem *Tithonus*, the lament of the aging mortal who has been given the gift of "cruel immortality" by Aurora, appeared in *Cornhill Magazine* in February 1860. Both poems were included in the *Enoch Arden* volume of 1864.

Once more the apparently delicate question of sending poems to magazines is touched upon. "Perhaps you know I always disliked his sending poems to Magazines," the poet's wife wrote in May 1860. "He sent the first while away from home all unknown to me."

In the spring of 1860 a new character figures in the letters. This is Dr. Joseph Wolff, a remarkable missionary, whose unique account of his *Travels and Adventures* had apparently been dictated to Mrs. Gatty's family circle and revised by her. In the Preface to the first volume (2nd edition 1860) the author states that he is "especially indebted to his dear and excellent friend, Mrs. Alfred Gatty, whose own pen has already made her well known to the public." The longer, six-page appreciative Preface to the second volume is signed by Alfred Gatty. Joseph Wolff, born in 1795 as the son of a Rabbi, became a convert to Christianity and was baptized in Prague at the age of seventeen. Fired with zeal to become a missionary, he went to Rome and studied at the Collegio Romano and the Propaganda, but was dismissed because of his independent views. After varied experiences, he came to England and joined the Anglican church. On the title-page of his book he is designated as "Vicar of Ile Brewers, near Taunton, and late missionary to the Jews and Muhammadans in Persia, Bokhara, Cashmeer, etc." The autobiography gives an account of his colorful early life (including a meeting with Goethe who, on the question of

This bit  
 than said -  
 The boys have  
 not yet lost  
 their coughs  
 Alfred is  
 getting well.  
 This winter  
 I refer to  
 Gatty & myself  
 must travel  
 Truly  
 Tennyson

Thank you for your  
 kind letter and for the interesting  
 sea fact. Alfred does know  
 the western coast of Ireland  
 & this and the Cornish &  
 Lincolnshire coasts are  
 his three favourites.  
 I wish we could often fly  
 over to one of them. For  
 this place is becoming  
 far too public place.  
 Several houses have arisen



conversion, told Wolff to follow the bent of his own mind), but mainly of his adventures on his missionary journeys.

Lady Tennyson begins to mention the missionary in two letters of March 1860, when she regrets that Mrs. Gatty cannot come with Dr. Wolff. On the 7th of June 1860 she writes:

Dr. Wolff arrived last night. His talk has an inspiration that cannot be withstood and he is so gentle and kind withal that one must like him as much as one wonders at him. [And on June 11:] Pray tell Mrs. Gatty that we find Dr. Wolff has an eastern dignity and courtesy in addition to the Jewish inspiration. The boys delight in him as well as ourselves. He is most kind to them.

On September 1, 1860 Lady Tennyson inquires for news about Dr. Wolff, and on November 10 she asks: "Is it true that Dr. Wolff is gone off on a missionary tour? . . . What then is to become of the second volume?" On the 28th of the same month she writes to Mr. Gatty: "You must be glad to have got the doctoring over," which probably means the doctoring of the Wolff memoirs; and she continues: "We are delighted with the first volume. Alfred says it will be a standard book, like Robinson Crusoe he thinks. But for Mrs. Gatty's energy I suppose it never would have got done." The poet's opinion of the book did not remain buried in his wife's letter, for Mr. Gatty utilized it at the end of his Preface, stating: ". . . and the opinion, expressed by one most capable of judging, is, 'It will be a standard book, like Robinson Crusoe.'"

On May 7, 1862 occurs the last mention of this new friend: "Now I have more to say for I perceive by the Times that Dr. Wolff is gone and I know how much you will miss him. Surely we have lost a very remarkable man. One who should have lived forever as the world will scarcely see his like again. How thankful you must be that you accomplished your labor of love in writing those books for him."

LADY TENNYSON took a warm interest in Mrs. Gatty's literary work. On April 26, 1861 she thanks her friend for sending "Red Snow." She writes that "Hallam has already been deeply buried in it. You must be very pleased to have it partly illustrated by your daughters." However, she was not shy

about expressing her opinion. On December 10, 1861 she again thanked Mrs. Gatty for the gift of a book, which must have been an advance copy of *The Old Folks from Home, a Holiday in Ireland in 1861*, published in 1862, remarking:

I have already found amusement in it and I doubt not shall do more and instruction besides. But do you know I love not the Irish. I think them a nest of traitors with some honourable exceptions. In the course of conversation with a learned man yesterday I made it clear to myself that patriotism I love nationality I love not. I wish conquered nations could take gracefully the married state upon them . . .

What follows touches upon a less controversial, but apparently a sore subject. The Royal Commissioner for the great International Exhibition to be held at London had requested the poet to write an ode which was to be set to music by Sir William Sterndale Bennett and sung at the opening ceremony in the spring of 1862. After writing that, in spite of four weeks of doctoring in town, her husband was by no means well, she goes on:

He does not like to have his few lines called an Ode. An ode must be a free song and not written because asked for and as asked for and besides the fact of his having written the lines was not to be mentioned. There is as yet nothing finished and final as the lines and music must be one if they are to be at all.

The Ode, with the music by W. Sterndale Bennett, was sung by a choir of four hundred voices on May 1, 1862. It was printed with music in four parts on April 12, and published in the *Times* of April 24, 1862, again in *Fraser's Magazine* for June 1862, and was separately printed for Moxon in the same year. It begins:

Uplift a thousand voices full and sweet,  
In this wide hall with earth's invention stored,  
And praise th'invisible universal Lord,  
Who lets once more in peace the nations meet,  
Where Science, Art, and Labor have outpour'd  
Their myriad horns of plenty at our feet.

In a letter of 17 December 1861 the poet's wife resumed the two themes of the preceding one:

. . . I cannot allow the poor Queen to have any blame cast on her without saying that she never in any way deserved any at all events



as far as we are concerned. We have had nothing but kindness from her. She never asked for the Ode and certainly we cannot think she would have done it in a wrong way if she had. I was only speaking in Irish fashion when I spoke of the nest of traitors. I doubt not there are multitudes of loyal hearts in Ireland but the disloyal brawl so loud that their modest voices are rarely heard above the din and I had just been made very wrathful by Smith O'Brien and by Aubrey de Vere. It is so wicked in those who call themselves Christian gentlemen to keep up old grudges when they know that for years England had done all she can for those who are too little inclined to do anything for themselves. Let the gentlemen look to themselves and [own?] they at least have not loved England too well. It is just as rational in the Saxon to cry out against the Norman in England as for the Celt to cry out against the Norman in Ireland. Scotland and Wales too are mixed people by events over which we have no controul. We should fare poorly apart so let us e'en make the best of it together. I too am partly a Celt I believe and so you will believe from my indignation.

Smith O'Brien was associated with Daniel O'Connell and was leader of the "young Ireland" party. He was condemned to death, but his sentence commuted to banishment in 1849, and he was later pardoned.

The Ode figures again in the next two letters. On December 21 the writer reiterates that it was the Committee, not the Queen, who asked for it "and they meant no harm, only they did not understand that it is not easy to write 'about 30 lines' on a given subject. Aliy could not well refuse to write on so national a subject it was urged."

On the second of February 1862 Lady Tennyson sends congratulations on Mr. Gatty's having attained a sub-deanery, "at least on the way to the Deanery," and as a token of good wishes encloses the "Dedication." "You will be pleased to hear," she writes, "that the Queen and Princess Alice like these lines exceedingly and have thanked him in the warmest terms." In a pencil note she adds: "You will not let the Dedication out of your hands before it is published please!" The "Dedication" was that of the 1862 edition of the *Idylls of the King* to the late Prince Consort. The poet's grandson has told of Tennyson's high respect for Prince Albert's character and culture, and of his knowing "that he owed to him his appointment as Laureate."

In the early sixties, a certain restlessness of the poet's family manifests itself in the letters; this was due to poor health, the hope of finding refreshment in travel, and a growing dissatisfaction with the encroachment of new settlers on the seclusion of Freshwater. The last resulted in a search for a quieter retreat in which to spend the summer. The Tennysons hired Greyshott Farm in the district of Haslemere for two years, and then acquired a piece of land on the slope of a hill which, with its fields, oak and beech wood, and its view of the South Downs, suited the poet's desires. Here they built, in 1868, through Tennyson's architect-friend James Knowles, a beautiful house which they named "Aldworth" after the native village of Emily Tennyson's ancestors.

On 5 December 1862 she wrote about one of her husband's tours:

Alfred was as much interested by the Scilly Isles as you appear to have been I think. He saw the gardens but not the king. Neither did he dine on Ostrich eggs. We were all for a fortnight in a house on Putney Heath and saw there many old friends and had two private views of the exhibition . . . Alfred took us thence to Grasby and left us there for a little tour in Derbyshire and Yorkshire with Mr. Palgrave . . .

This was Francis Turner Palgrave, compiler of *The Golden Treasury* of English verse, the idea for which occurred to him while touring with Tennyson, who was also much concerned with the choice of the poems.

On February 4, 1863 Lady Tennyson apologized for having forgotten to congratulate her friend "about the sea-weed book." On a tour in provincial France she kept in mind Mrs. Gatty's interest in sun-dials. Her *Book of Sun Dials* did not appear until 1872, but it no doubt was prepared over many years. The letter is of the 13th October 1864.

. . . we found no inscriptions on dials in our journey. Indeed I noticed only one dial and that was on the beautiful church at Le Mans close to the Druid stone which is built up in the wall. The dial was borne by a shadowy skeleton angel . . . Brittany itself is wild Wales in miniature Normandy fine and bold and rich. Ally bore this journey much better than the last and the boys were very well.

In the spring of 1867 young Hallam, who was at school at

Marlborough, was taken ill with pneumonia; however, on April 5 his mother wrote from Farringford: "Considering that on our journey Hallam had to be carried from Station to Station his improvement must I think be considered rapid. He has this morning been riding on his little pony and tho tired is not I hope over-tired by it."

A letter of 22 November of the same year has a weary note. After thanking Mrs. Gatty for sending magazines, Lady Tennyson writes:

The Camelot seems to me very prettily written, but at present it is difficult for me to find a moment for reading and I have no eyes if I could nor brains had I eyes, they having been overworked by painful work. My paper you want to know about [mourning edge on letter paper] It is for my beloved Father who passed gently away from us on the 20th of Sept. Thank God I was with him . . . he was so good that we ought not to sorrow however great our loss.

On 7 October 1868 Lady Tennyson had another occasion to interpret her husband's reluctance to coerce his muse: "It is not pleasant to say no — especially to one who is always so kind as you are but what else can he say . . ." On occasion, she admits, he has listened to entreaties from friends, "but you will quite understand that this is very different from writing something at their request. This to save his life he could not do worthily unless the fit were upon him."

On 12 February 1873 Lady Tennyson writes of her husband:

He was very much touched by sight of your handwriting and all the suffering it betokened and all the effort. Glad indeed should we be to learn that you were better. He sends these lines in the poem in which they were printed for the Queen with his love and mine . . . This is Lionel's last term at Eton and Hallam's second at Trinity so the world does not stand still with them either. [Postscript] I am to say that he likes the verses very much and that they are very true and pathetic.

The letter was written in the last year of Mrs. Gatty's life, for she died on October 4, 1873. Lady Tennyson, though frail and in poor health, outlived her by twenty-three years. By four years, she also survived the poet.

# Problems of a Defoe Cataloger

By ELLEN M. OLDHAM

ONE of the most interesting, although at times most exacting, tasks of the bibliographer is the ferreting out of variations in the works of an author. Often some small "point" — a misplaced comma, a change in spelling, a deleted or altered word — means the difference in monetary value between a collector's item and a book to be simply tossed aside. A few of the problems of the cataloging of the great Defoe Collection of the Boston Public Library will be discussed here.

Most biographers of Defoe begin their writings with the truism that everyone knows *Robinson Crusoe*, but few know its author.<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly among the hundreds of works composed by Defoe *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* is the best known. But surely Robinson Crusoe's creator led a life of surprising adventures, even for an age of national and world upheaval. Indeed, *The Life and Strange and Surprising Adventures of Daniel De Foe* is the ingenious title given by Paul Dottin to his biography of the great English novelist and pamphleteer. Son of a Dissenter family, Defoe was condemned to the pillory supposedly for writing such a clever satire of the High Church mentality that the persons ridiculed took it to be by one of their own number; he did undercover work first for his patron Robert Harley and then for whichever party was in power; wrote hundreds of pamphlets hardly anyone has ever heard of, and in later life two or three novels nearly every person knows; and died in an obscure lodging-house while attempting to escape a persistent creditor!

Defoe's pen was employed on every important issue of his day. Religion, economics, social problems, and above all politics, aroused his passion. Nearly always a supporter of the existing government, he might even seem to write on both sides of a question. Whig and Dissenter by conviction, he was sincere in advocating moderation for both parties. Wherever there were corruption and oppression he would leap to the attack.

Defoe offers to the bibliographer problems not often encountered in the writings of modern authors. His larger works

are well established; but the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century equivalent of an article was a pamphlet, ranging from four to forty or more pages. Were Defoe alive today, his works might be found in popular magazines. Even today it requires real detective work to round up all the published articles of a writer, especially if he is given to the use of pseudonyms. But Defoe is still more difficult; the vast majority of his pamphlets were published anonymously, lost in a sea of other anonymous pamphlets.<sup>2</sup> This was due in part to the controversial character of his writing, and in part simply to the custom of the time. The work of weeding out spurious from genuine tracts ascribed to Defoe and gathering in others hitherto unrecognized has been slow but steady. A few items were published by Defoe himself as his *Collected Works*<sup>3</sup>; others were mentioned in his correspondence; some were attacked as his work in his own lifetime. But most of them have been assigned to him through study of internal characteristics and a kind of intuition developed by long years of association with his undoubted writings.

George Chalmers, the earliest biographer of Defoe, listed 174 items in 1786; Walter Wilson offered 210 works in 1830 in his *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Daniel Defoe*<sup>4</sup>; William Hazlitt, William Lee, Paul Dottin, and other students gradually extended the number of "authentic" titles; and William P. Trent included 365 entries in his essay on Defoe in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (1913). The latter's researches continued and, in large measure, were incorporated in Henry C. Hutchins's list of over 400 items in the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (1941).<sup>5</sup> Although this is the latest printed list, scholars are still at work sifting through possible candidates for admission. Foremost among them is Professor John Robert Moore, of Indiana University, who has compiled a new list which has been adopted by the British Museum as the basis of the Defoe section in a recent volume of its printed catalog. While he has accepted the suggestions of some other scholars — George H. Healey, Charles Burch, James Sutherland, and others — the great majority of the new titles are his own attribution. To Professor Moore, who is at work on a new biography of Defoe, belongs the honor of recognizing "Johnson's" *General History of the Pirates* as from the hand of Defoe.<sup>6</sup>



It was the late Professor William P. Trent, of Columbia University, who brought together the great collection of Defoe's works now in the Boston Public Library. The collection contains, besides many editions of *Robinson Crusoe* and the seven other major works, most of the 463 pamphlets the authenticity of which the Library's catalogers have considered sufficiently established to enter under Defoe's name. Of this number, 123 items are lacking; some of these may be hiding under other titles in the Library's holdings, and others include works not known in print, but referred to by Defoe in his *Review*, such as the *Stone Chimney Piece*.<sup>7</sup>

The collection includes, besides, over two hundred items the attribution of which is doubtful at best. Professor Trent often made notations on them, such as these in a pamphlet on the South-Sea Company: "It is perhaps not safe to attribute this tract to Defoe quite so positively as the English dealer did who had it bound and lettered, but I have practically no doubt that he wrote it." Others he rejects more positively; on the fly-leaf of the *Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq.* he wrote: "I see no reason for believing Defoe wrote the book." However, Defoe's name has been written on the title-page by an earlier hand. "I doubt whether Defoe wrote it," and again, sixteen years later, "I greatly doubt Defoe's authorship," he remarked about *The Comical History of the Life and Death of Mumper, Generalissimo of King Charles II's Dogs. Written by Heliotropolis, Secretary to the Emperor of the Moon*.

Soon after the acquisition of the collection, a check-list was prepared preliminary to full cataloging. For the latter, the following principle was adopted: Duplicates should not be disposed of until they have been collated *line for line*. Apparent duplicates may be variants; a variant disposed of as a duplicate is practically lost forever. The condition of English printing during the first quarter of the eighteenth century was productive of variants. The search for them should be continued by the library, if possible.

The collection, one of the richest of its kind in existence, frequently contains three, five, ten, or even more copies of a single title. Sometimes these are exact duplicates; more often they include different editions, or contain variations in the text due to

corrections made in the press; and sometimes the pamphlet was issued by two publishers, or under two titles. It is this richness which makes the collection so valuable to the scholar — and so difficult for the cataloger. The work of rendering the material fully available to the student is progressing steadily. The present article shows a few of the problems encountered.

DEFOE was active as an author for over forty years. For convenience's sake a more limited period — the first twenty-five years of his career — will be treated here. The period in question takes one to the death of Queen Anne. Thus the great novels by which Defoe is known will not be dealt with. *Robinson Crusoe* has already been thoroughly studied: Professor Hutchins in *Robinson Crusoe and its Printing 1719-1731* (1925) gives twenty pages to the first edition, showing that while only one issue existed, this included two variants of the title-page, three in the preface, and two in the text. *Robinson Crusoe* is a classic, read in school and owned by the average man. It may be mentioned that a copy of the first edition has brought as much as \$11,500. It is not too pedantic, therefore, to devote a whole volume to its early editions, abridgments, and piracies. But a minor tract useful only to a few scholars deserves some notice too.

One should agree, first of all, on the meaning of "edition," "issue," and "variant." McKerrow's definitions offered in his *Introduction to Bibliography* seem the best. "The general principle is," he writes, "that when we talk of a new edition of a book we mean that the type of the whole book, or at any rate of the text as distinguished from the preliminary matter, has been set up afresh; while when we speak of a new issue, we mean that what were left of the old sheets of the text have been bound up with a new title-page or with new preliminary matter."<sup>8</sup> This leaves as simple "variants" all those items which differ through changes or errors in pagination, spelling, and other minor matters.

In the first twenty-five years of his career Defoe composed two hundred pieces, short and long, on scores of subjects, of the most serious import as well as of a satiric or amusing nature. Of these, the Library has about one hundred and seventy-five,

totaling with duplicates, variants, and different editions about four hundred items. This richness of the available material enables us to judge fairly accurately the bibliographical history of Defoe at this period. Twenty-five to thirty pamphlets were popular enough to warrant reprinting, either by the legitimate publisher or in pirated editions. *The True-born Englishman*, *The Mock Mourners*, *A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty*, *Hymn to the Pillory*, *Hymn to Victory*, and *True Relation of the Apparition of One Mrs. Veal* were perhaps the most popular so far as number of editions is concerned — an indication that the average reader preferred Defoe's satire and verse to his heavier economic and political tracts.

Twenty-seven pieces appear with some change in the title-page, though with the same pagination and often the same errors. However, further study would be needed to ascertain whether these were reissues of old sheets, or include resetting of type while following the original pagination. There are thirteen items with only some minor variation in the text; and of course one may find two issues of a work, with variant copies of one or both.

Perhaps the most interesting type of variant is that found in the title-page. There may be a number of reasons for printing a new title-page even when the sheets of the text are the same. McKerrow points out that the demand for a book after it has gone to press but before all the type has been distributed may seem greater than anticipated, and therefore further impressions are made of pages still set up while those distributed are being reset. The publisher might well feel entitled to call the additional copies a "second edition," although sheets from both first and second edition might be in part or whole exactly the same.<sup>9</sup>

An example of this may be found in Defoe's *King William's Affection to the Church of England Examin'd*. This was one of the first works from Defoe's pen after the *Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, and, written in a similar satiric vein, it might have received considerable publicity if the author's hand were recognized. Published on March 25, 1703, the pamphlet went through five numbered editions, reaching the fourth on April 13.<sup>10</sup> The Library's collection includes two copies of the first

A NEW  
**T E S T**  
OF THE

*Before  
W.P. 2.*

Church of *England's* Loyalty:

O R,

Whiggish Loyalty

A N D

Church Loyalty

COMPAR'D.



Printed in the Year 1702.





and one of the third edition. However, one copy of the first edition has "King William" on page one, and the other, "King VVilliam." Examination shows that the "VVilliam" sheets were likewise used in the third edition. In all likelihood, part of the text was set up again before all the first sheets were used; at any rate, various combinations of title-pages and printings of text may be found.

OF the works which appeared under two titles, several were evidently attempts to clear out unsold stock from the printer's shelves. The earliest of these "remainders" was Defoe's first ambitious work, the 336-page *Essay Upon Projects*, published originally in 1697.<sup>11</sup> Professor Trent called this "one of the most important and interesting of all his books."<sup>12</sup> Here, before circumstances had thrust Defoe into the center of the political stage, one gets a glimpse of his natural bent. By profession and training a merchant, his interests lay in the problems of commerce and practical economics. His array of topics includes articles on banks, highways, bankruptcy, the treatment of the insane, and academies (the latter containing a famous section on the education of women). But perhaps the "projects" of greatest timeliness for our generation are those concerned with the problem of social security. Defoe led up to his subject with a short discussion entitled "Of Assurances" and another "Of Friendly Societies." The former merely commended the practice of marine insurance and the then recently instituted fire insurance. "Insuring of life I cannot admire. I shall say nothing to it, but that in Italy, where stabbing and poisoning is so much in vogue, something may be said for it, and on contingent annuities, and yet I never knew the thing much approved of on any account."<sup>13</sup> The friendly societies he defined as "a number of people entering into a mutual compact to help one another in case any disaster or distress fall upon them." He advised the establishment of such coöperative associations especially for merchant seamen and the relief of widows. But Defoe recognized the unlimited possibilities of the venture and proceeded "to a scheme by which all mankind, be he never so mean, so poor, so unable, shall gain for himself a just claim to a comfortable subsistence

whensoever age or casualty shall reduce him to a necessity of making use of it." By his proposed method, beggary, one of the social evils of the time, would be wiped out, for if the cause were removed, "the effect would cease of course."<sup>14</sup>

His proposal, in short, was this: "That all persons in the time of their health and youth, while they are able to work and spare it, should lay up some small inconsiderable part of their gettings as a deposit in safe hands, to lie as a store in bank to relieve them, if by age or accident they come to be disabled or incapable to provide for themselves, and that if God so bless them that they nor theirs never come to need it, the overplus may be employed to relieve such as shall."<sup>15</sup> The vision is a noble one: all laboring people, both men and women — "beggars and soldiers excepted" — of sound limb and under fifty would come under the plan, each to pay sixpence upon joining, and thereafter one shilling per quarter.

As no claims were to be made for the first year, the bank would be enabled to build up its reserve, the money to be invested in loans to the government at seven per-cent interest (although investment in lottery tickets or real estate is also considered). Fraud would be vigorously combatted both within the organization and in the subscriber's claims. The sick and aged would be cared for in a hospital administered by the trustees of the pension-office, while a pension was provided for those incapacitated by the loss of limbs or eyesight. The reason for this was that the latter claim could be easily checked. Many might claim pensions for infirmity, "but few will demand being taken into an hospital but such as are really in want."<sup>16</sup> Defoe concluded: "I desire any man to consider the present state of this kingdom, and tell me if all the people of England, old and young, rich and poor, were to pay into one common bank 4s. per annum a head, and that 4s. duly and honestly managed, whether the overplus paid by those who die off, and by those who never come to want, would not in all probability maintain all that should be poor, and for ever banish beggary and poverty out of the kingdom?"<sup>17</sup>

The Library owns five copies of the *Essay Upon Projects*, each of interest in its own right. The earlier form of title-page appears in two guises. The first states London: Printed by R. R.

for Tho. Cockerill, at the Corner of Warwick-Lane, near Pater-noster-Row. MDCXCVII; the other gives Cockerill's address as "the Three Legs in the Poultry." On the fly-leaf of this copy Trent wrote, "An excellent copy of an excellent and rare book."<sup>18</sup> A third copy (with the title-page supplied in facsimile) has association interest. It was acquired in 1858 by Robert C. Winthrop, who observed on a fly-leaf that he had been able to trace the volume through several dealers to "Bumstead's old Book Shop on Milk Street," and thought that it might have been the very volume used by Benjamin Franklin; the latter, in his *Autobiography*, spoke of Defoe's *Essay* as a book which "perhaps gave me a turn of thinking that had an influence on some of the principal future events of my life." Winthrop also pasted two letters into the volume. One is by Edward Everett Hale, who called the discovery of the Defoe work "charming"; the other, from London, was by Henry Tuke Parker, who had furnished the facsimile title-page. Trent has this to say: "I wish I could believe firmly that Franklin used this copy of Defoe's 'Essay,' but I can go no farther than to think that there is more likelihood that he used this particular copy than that he touched any of the other copies I have seen or noted."

Thomas Cockerill seems to have died in 1702, the year in which his last entry in the Term Catalogues appeared.<sup>19</sup> His nephew, Thomas Cockerill, Junior, took over the business and, on discovering the unsold sheets of Defoe's *Essay*, evidently disposed of some to Thomas Ballard, book-auctioneer and founder of a bookselling firm, while offering the rest to any dealer who cared to handle them — using the old formula "Printed, and sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster, 1702." The title was now changed, in the first instance to *Essays on Several Subjects*; and in the second, to *Essays on Several Projects*, in both cases with a long sub-title. Not too great a change, of course; however, an anonymous work issued by a different "printer" and with a new title might well have deceived the public.

**A**NOTHER work by Defoe the sale of which was smaller than anticipated was originally titled *The Experiment: or, the Shortest Way with the Dissenters Exemplified, Being the Case of*

*Mr. Abraham Gill, a Dissenting Minister in the Isle of Ely . . .*  
London, Printed: And sold by B. Bragg, at the Blue-Ball in  
Ave-Mary-Lane. MDCCV.

This is a piece of little modern interest, but a few paragraphs may be devoted to it as an instance of the persecution met with by the Dissenters. Abraham Gill, a man apparently of excellent character, originally held orders in the Church of England, but gradually he found the liturgy not to his satisfaction and eventually omitted it altogether. As the chapel at Willney which he served was independent and its members had the privilege of electing their own minister, he considered irregularities in the service not to be under the jurisdiction of the rector of Upwell, even though Willney belonged to the latter parish. However, after a time the rector, a Mr. Hugh James, succeeded in driving Gill from his post, and finally the High Church zealots caused him to be cast into prison. On his release — without a trial as the charges were never substantiated — the Dissenters of Upwell invited him to serve them as minister. He accepted the call, but a succession of slanders and imprisonments followed. The charges brought by his persecutors included no less than forgery of Episcopal orders, unlicensed preaching, jail-breaking, drunkenness, and vagabondage. Once the poor clergyman was impressed into the army, only escaping this fate by another jailing as a debtor. As Defoe concludes the tale of woe, the case lay before the judges of Her Majesty's Court of Queen's-Bench, "where Mr. Gill doubts not to have justice."

To Defoe the case supplied perfect ammunition for his contention that the High Church party, in spite of the toleration proclaimed from the throne, would stop at nothing in the persecution of Dissenters. It was his satire *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters* which, first taken at face value, led to his exposure in the pillory. He acquired a large number of sworn affidavits testifying on behalf of Gill, to prove the existence of a foul plot. Some of this evidence was later withdrawn; but, as Defoe pointed out, no charges against Gill were made until he became a Dissenter. This very abundance of legal documents may have prevented the pamphlet from achieving popularity.

At any rate, as Walter Wilson noted, "the work sold but indifferently, and several hundred copies were thrown aside at



the bookseller's, as waste paper."<sup>20</sup> In 1707 the remaining sheets were issued under a new title, *The Honesty and Sincerity of those Worthy Gentlemen Commonly called High-Church Men: Exemplified in a Modern Instance*. The dedication to the Queen was reprinted, along with the title-page. Although Abraham Gill's name had now disappeared from the title, his case was not forgotten, for it was not until that same year that Rector James, the leader of the persecution, produced his own version of the affair: *An Answer to a late Pamphlet Entitled, The Experiment . . . Wherein all the Misrepresentations, Falsifications, Forgeries and Perjuries, Counterfeit and Imposture, contain'd in that Pamphlet, are clearly detected and proved . . .*

Curiously enough, the title of the re-issue is usually reproduced by bibliographers as *The Modesty and Sincerity*. Professor Hutchins, in the CBEL, gives the wording as *The Honesty and Sincerity*, and so it is found on the Library's copy. Professor Morgan lists the piece as *Honesty and Sincerity* under the year 1706, but only as an anonymous work, without linking it to Defoe. Turning to the Term Catalogues, one finds "*The Experiment . . .* by the author of the 'True Born Englishman'" listed for the Trinity Term of 1705 and again, with a slightly variant title, for the Hilary Term of 1706 (though here without the indication of author). The Michaelmas Term of 1706 finds Bragg advertising *The Honesty and Sincerity*, with no mention of Gill or Defoe; whether the book actually went on the market before January of 1707, is impossible to tell. The title *Modesty and Sincerity* nowhere appears. Is it simply a ghost caused by an error of Chalmers and perpetuated by his successors? The question does not seem to have been discussed in print; and, considering the number of places where the false title appears, a brief mention is not amiss here.

The Library has three copies of the pamphlet with the original title-page. On the cover of one Professor Trent wrote this note: "Rare, exceptionally fine copy, accompanied by the scarce second issue of 1707 and the reply." Actually, all three copies have slight variants; the first has "Hubbart" (the correct spelling) as the name of a former rector of Upwell on page 7; the second has "Hubbert," and the third has "Hubbert" plus a variant in the printer's mark on the title-page.



THE next item to be considered has a different history. First printed in 1702, with no publisher named, *A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty: or, Whiggish Loyalty and Church Loyalty Compar'd* became very popular. The question which divided the Whigs and Tories, and their religious counterparts the Dissenters and High-Church adherents, was the nature of government, and especially the relation between subject and monarch. The champions of the Church of England advocated the doctrine of "passive obedience" and "non-resistance to princes" — "an abhorrence of the very thoughts of those hellish principles *that it can be lawful on any account whatsoever to resist the established power of their kings.*"<sup>21</sup> In the light of this reasoning, the unforgivable crime of the Puritans was the beheading of Charles I; and every January 30, the anniversary of his "martyrdom," fanatical ministers uttered sermons of a most violent strain. Defoe pointed out the patient submission of the Dissenters to long years of persecution under Elizabeth and James I, and the lack of loyalty of Church of England men to James II in taking up arms against him. There is no use arguing, he writes, that "we did take up arms, but we did not kill him . . . Why, every bullet shot at the battle of the Boyne was a killing the King; for if you did not, 'twas because you could not hit him."<sup>22</sup>

Two editions appear in 1702, the first of [2], 34 pages, and the second of [2], 3-32 pages. It is curious to note that when the compositor reached the bottom of page 11 in the second edition, which should have been given the signature B2, he happened to reach the bottom of page 11 in his original, which was signed C2 — and, without thinking, he put C2 at the bottom of his page. A reprint came out in 1703. In 1715 the pamphlet was reissued again by R. Tookey and sold by J. Roberts and J. Harrison; but now it was entitled: *A Defence of Mr. Withers's History of Resistance: or, A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty*. Unfortunately, the book by Mr. Withers — a Presbyterian minister at Exeter — first appeared in 1710, eight years after the first edition of the tract which was supposed to "defend" it. However, Withers's *History of Resistance* was a popular item; the Library has copies of the first, second, fourth, and

sixth editions, all published in 1710. A seventh edition appeared in 1715, probably because the accession of the Hanoverian line to the throne aroused party feeling once more. Since Defoe's old pamphlet dealt with the same subject, the publishers evidently hoped to get a free ride on Withers's popularity.

Here again one runs into bibliographical difficulties. According to Morgan, Defoe issued a work entitled *A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty with Allowances* in 1687, and the implication is that this is the same work as the 1702 one, with a different sub-title.<sup>23</sup> Now in 1687 Mrs. Eleanor James wrote a pamphlet called *A Vindication of the Church of England, in an Answer to a Pamphlet Entitled, A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty*; and Wilson definitely states that Mrs. James's reply was to Defoe's pamphlet of 1702 — which is altogether impossible.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, the British Museum Catalog makes it clear that the two works are not identical. However, this 1687 pamphlet, no matter who wrote it, must have excited considerable controversy, for no less than ten works written in reply are cited.

The Defoe Collection, with its immense array of subject matter, opens to the scholar the whole panorama of the early eighteenth-century. The struggles of the age on the battlefield, in Parliament and Church, and in the underlying social structure are mirrored by a shrewd and intelligent contemporary actively concerned in many of the happenings. In addition, in its profusion of editions, issues, and variants, it offers a magnificent opportunity to observe at first hand the workings of eighteenth-century English printing and publishing.

## Notes

1. Paul Dottin, *The Life and Strange and Surprising Adventures of Daniel De Foe* (New York, 1929), v; William P. Trent, *Daniel Defoe, How to Know Him* (Indianapolis, 1916), 1.

2. One may think of the more than 20,000 tracts relating to the Civil War collected by George Thomason between 1641 and 1662, now located in the British Museum.

3. Daniel Defoe, *A True Collection of the Writings of the Author of The True-Born Englishman* (I, London, 1703; II, London, 1705).

4. This book is still indispensable, although, as James Sutherland observed in the preface to his Defoe biography, "using that shapeless work is almost a minor form of research."

5. Another important source is *A Bibliography of British History (1700-1715)* by William Thomas Morgan (Bloomington, Indiana, 1934-42). The entries are arranged in chronological order by year of first publication, the total work filling five volumes.

6. He published his discovery in his *Defoe in the Pillory and other Studies* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1939), 126-88.

7. *A Review of the State of the British Nation*, VIII, 474. (In Volume 20 of the reprint issued by the Facsimile Text Society, New York, 1938.)

8. Ronald McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1927), 176.

9. *Ibid.*, 179.

10. Dottin, *op. cit.*, 271.

11. The work is available in reprint in *The Earlier Life and the Chief Earlier Works of Daniel Defoe*, edited by Henry Morley, London, 1889. References are to this edition.

12. Trent, *op. cit.*, 12.

13. Morley, *op. cit.*, 79.

14. *Ibid.*, 90.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*, 92.

17. *Ibid.*, 100.

18. Henry R. Plomer, in *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1668-1725* (Oxford, 1922) does not mention the Warwick Lane address, but does give the "Three Legs in the Poultreys" as the second of two locations. Probably Cockerill worked "near Pater-noster-Row" for only a short period moving to the Poultreys during 1697. "R. R." may be for R. Roberts, a London printer.

19. Edward Arber, ed., *The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709 A. D.* (London, 1903-06).

20. Wilson, *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Daniel De Foe* (London, 1830), II, 348.

21. *A New Test*, I.

22. *Ibid.*, 13.

23. Morgan, *op. cit.*, I, 46, No. B118. To add to the confusion, elsewhere (I, 211, No. B166, and I, 250, No. E508) Morgan ascribes the work to John Tutchin, in which he follows Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*.

24. Wilson, *op. cit.*, II, 26.

## George Eliot on the *Blithedale Romance*

By JAMES D. RUST

IN the October 1852 issue of the *Westminster Review* appeared a criticism of Hawthorne's *Blithedale Romance* which, there is good reason to believe, was written by George Eliot. This review is interesting, first because it reveals what a great novelist thought of the work of a fellow artist, and second, because of the light it throws upon the development of George Eliot's thought about the art of fiction.

Hawthorne was a well-known and highly respected writer by 1852, principally because of *The Scarlet Letter* (1850) and *The House of Seven Gables* (1851), though his collections of short stories such as *Twice-Told Tales* (1837) and *Mosses from an Old Manse* (1846) were also widely read. George Eliot, on the other hand, was completely unknown; in fact, Marian Evans was not to become George Eliot until 1857.

In May, 1851 she became assistant editor of the *Westminster Review*. It was at first agreed that she should write the articles on foreign literature for the quarterly, but this plan was subsequently altered so that George Henry Lewes wrote the sections on French literature, a Mrs. Sinnett the ones on German, and Ebenezer Syme most of those on English literature during 1852 and 1853, though Miss Evans occasionally assisted him. Her other duties as sub-editor included searching for contributors, selecting articles, revising, correcting, rewriting contributions when necessary, and reading the proofs. In her letters she frequently complained of the strain of reading which her work entailed; consequently, before 1852 had ended almost the only writing she did for the magazine was the reviewing of American books.

The review of Hawthorne's novel shows clear marks of her style, and two letters printed in *George Eliot's Life* by J. W. Cross give further evidence that it is hers. On August 19, 1852, she wrote to Mrs. Peter Taylor: "One sees no novels less than a year old at the sea-side, so I am unacquainted with the 'Blithedale Romance,' except through the reviews, which have whetted my curiosity more than usual. Hawthorne is a grand favour-



ite of mine, and I shall be sorry if he do not go on surpassing himself.”<sup>1</sup> Less than a month later it appeared that she not only had read the book, but probably had written the review as well. In a letter to Mrs. Bray of September 11, 1852, filled with fears that the forthcoming issue of the magazine would not be as good as previous ones, she wrote: “You may as well expect news from an old spider or bat as from me. I can only tell you what I think of the ‘Blithedale Romance,’ of ‘Uncle Tom’s Cabin,’ and the American Fishery Dispute — all which, I am very sure, you don’t want to know.”<sup>2</sup>

The comments which Miss Evans makes about *The Blithedale Romance* fall into three categories: those concerning character portrayal and plot construction, those concerning realism, and most important of all, those involving moral purpose and tone. They will be considered in the order here stated.

The review opens with some remarks about *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*; then in typical fashion (she seldom condemned a book utterly), Miss Evans praises *The Blithedale Romance* as “unmistakably the finest production of genius in either hemisphere, for this quarter at least — to keep our enthusiasm within limits so far. Of its literary merits we wish to speak, at the outset, in the highest terms, inasmuch as we intend to take objection to it in other respects.”<sup>3</sup> She refuses, on the score of limited space, to attempt a summary of the narrative, “which depends for its interest altogether upon the way of telling it” (p. 592). She turns directly to a discussion of what she calls Hawthorne’s forte, the analysis of character, applauding the adoption of the autobiographical form as perhaps the most suitable to display the novelist’s powers. Only a few characters, not more than six or seven, are introduced, and of these, she writes, only four are really prominent. Because of this paucity of characters, the important ones are really developed and established in the reader’s mind as individuals. Though there are these advantages in Hawthorne’s method, she also finds certain disadvantages. The characters are too minutely analyzed, so much so that they do not coöperate effectively for dramatic purposes, “or for that graduated subordination to each other which tends to give a harmonious swell to the narrative, unity to the plot, and concentrated force to the issue” (p. 593).



In other words, Miss Evans feels that the emphasis on character analysis impedes the development of a good plot. It is well, therefore, she remarks, that there are so few characters, because had there been more, they would have slowed down intolerably the already slow stream of action. Furthermore, Hawthorne's narrative is neither steady nor continuous, but rather "flows with an eddying motion, which tends to keep them [the characters] apart, unless, as happens once or twice, it dash over a precipice, and then it both makes up for lost time, and brings matters to a point rather abruptly" (p. 593). But the tendency of the book is toward isolation of characters. Each is considered separately without sufficient interaction with the others; Hawthorne's "ruling faculty is analytic" (p. 593). Because of his failure to link the people of Blithedale together with strong enough bonds, Miss Evans calls them all "wandering stars" (p. 593).

GEORGE ELIOT stands high among the novelists of the nineteenth century for her accurate, sympathetic, and vivid portrayals of scenes and characters from actual life. This typically Victorian realism is complemented by an equally typical moral sense, and it is difficult to separate in this review the remarks dealing with the one from those discussing the other. However, one of the principal charges she levels against Hawthorne is that he is both unrealistic and, paradoxically, too realistic, particularly in the closing scene of the book. "Hawthorne walks abroad always at night, and at best it is a moonlight glimmering which you catch of reality. He lives in the region and shadow of death, and never sees the deep glow of moral health anywhere. He looks mechanically (it is a habit) at Nature and at man through a coloured glass, which imparts to the whole view a pallid, monotonous aspect, painful to behold." (p. 594).

Not only is the picture of life which Hawthorne presents morbid and unrealistic, but it is also cynical and fatalistic. He has some qualities of the poet, she admits, but he lacks almost entirely the prophetic element given to the true poet. His inspiration is "from Fate, not from Faith" (p. 595). He seems Mephistophelian — not knowing whether to weep or laugh,

but if either only in mockery. This fatalism and cynicism affect the reality of his novel, for "reality should only be so far introduced as to give effect to the bright ideal which Hope pictures in the future" (p. 595). There is, however, no hope in Hawthorne.

The other criticism, that he is too realistic in the drowning scene, derives from the description of the recovery of Zenobia's body from the river and its subsequent treatment by Silas Foster. Miss Evans is indignant both at Foster's actions and at the fate of the "imperial Zenobia" (p. 595). By making her a suicide, Hawthorne has allowed despair to win, for Zenobia was the only one in Blithedale who represented human right and destiny: "She, at least, should have come out of all her struggles in regal triumph" (p. 595). Miss Evans is even more offended, however, by the actual physical details of the closing scene: "But . . . to throw her into that dirty pool, and not even to leave her there, but to send her base-hearted deceiver, and that lout of a fellow, Silas Foster, to haul her out, and to let the one poke up the corpse with a boat-hook, and the other tumble it about in the simplicity of his desire to make it look more decent — these, and many other things in the closing scene, are an outrage upon the decorum of art, as well as a violation of its purpose" (595).

She concludes her statement on the nature and purpose of reality in fiction with one more comment. It is not a sufficient defense of such scenes to say that they do happen. Literature idealizes, or should idealize reality. Art uses those things which are true to develop, or at least to indicate, those things which ought to be true. And the conclusion of this book violates truth in this rather specialized sense, for "it ought *never* to be true that the strong should be conquered by the weak, as Zenobia was by Priscilla; or, that the most buoyant spirit should sink soonest in the struggle of life, as did Zenobia, . . . or, that *all* should be wrecked that sail on troubled waters, as were all who figure in this romance" (p. 595).

As to the morality of *The Blithedale Romance*, one of Miss Evans's first criticisms is again paradoxical; on the one hand she believes the book lacks moral purpose and earnestness, yet she feels that the moral it does inculcate is altogether too obvious and mechanical. She points out the lessons to be drawn

from the portraits of Priscilla, Zenobia, Hollingsworth, and Coverdale, saying, "There is something very unartistic in such formal applications of moral or social truths, reminding us of the old homiletic fashion of making a 'practical improvement' of a discourse to saints, sinners, and all sorts of folk. It indicates imperfection in the construction and colouring of the picture. So many morals — one a-piece for Coverdale and Hollingsworth, and two and a-half for Zenobia — are symptomatic of weak moral power, arising from feebleness of moral purpose" (p. 594).

Hawthorne's great strength is his perception of the beautiful, but "his moral faculty is morbid as well as weak; all his characters partake of the same infirmity" (p. 594). This morbidity and cynicism are further elaborated upon in a passage filled with the irony so characteristic of George Eliot. "[The] ministry [of art] should be one of pleasure, not of pain; but our anatomist, who removes his subjects to Blithedale, that he may cut and hack at them without interference, clears out for himself a new path in art, by developing the beauty of deformity! He would give you the poetry of the hospital, or the poetry of the dissecting-room; but we would rather not have it. Art has a moral purpose to fulfil; its mission is one of mercy, not of misery" (pp. 594-95).

Finally, the reviewer objects to Hawthorne's use of Brook Farm on the grounds that it is purely aesthetic and imaginary, without any effort to inculcate the moral lessons to be drawn from the socialistic experiment. She admits that there is truth in *The Blithedale Romance*, and that Hawthorne had a right to deal with Brook Farm imaginatively, for the imagination can solve problems with which the mere compiler of facts cannot cope. "A poetic soul sees more in history than it can reproduce in a historical form, and must, therefore, create a symbolism for itself, less inexorable in its conditions, and more expressive of his latest thought" (p. 596). Yet she thinks that a fruitful mind meditating upon "that bubble" would have produced a work making it a landmark in human progress. The real reason for Hawthorne's failure to produce a better book lies in his limited approach to the subject and his lack of moral earnestness. He insisted on regarding Brook Farm as merely a pic-

turesque framework, disregarding the moral and social implications of the social experiment itself.

The majority of readers, she maintains, will inevitably regard this story, "whether fact or fiction, as a socialistic drama, and will expect its chief interest as such to be of a moral kind" (p. 597). Hawthorne should have shown his readers what life was like in such a community — all its phases, involving both moral and material influences and results. But she says, rather sharply, that he simply shirks his real task, lacking either convictions about the deeper meanings of socialism or the courage to state them. Would Hawthorne have written a novel using a slave plantation as a picturesque background, "merely for the beauty of the thing, without pretending to 'elicit a conclusion favourable or otherwise' to slavery?" (p. 597). Or would he have disregarded the immorality of slavery in painting his ideal slave-plantation? Then, how, she asks, could he assume the right to disregard the moral implications of the socialistic society of Brook Farm? She contends that socialism, which should be an integral part of the novel's texture and action, does not actually figure in it at all — "it is really not made responsible for anything, good, bad, or indifferent," but is merely "an enormous fancy border, not very suitable for the purpose for which it was designed" (p. 597). If Hawthorne, despite his disclaimer in the introduction, intended the reader to believe that socialism was responsible for Zenobia's tragedy, she cannot accept this thesis. Zenobia's tragedy would have occurred just the same in the outside world and, further, it would have been more appropriate to present it as having occurred there. Socialism cannot be held responsible for it.

THE review is especially valuable for another reason. It reveals some of George Eliot's ideas about the art of fiction, five years before the appearance of *Scenes of Clerical Life* and seven years before *Adam Bede*. When she came to the actual writing of fiction, she had, as this review indicates, thought long and deeply about the problems of the novelist, and had arrived at definite opinions concerning the form, style, and purpose of the novel. The early Victorian novelists wrote intuitively and spon-



taneously, taking as their models Fielding, Smollet, and Scott, rarely troubling themselves to formulate an artistic "creed." In fact, it is questionable that they thought of themselves as artists at all. But George Eliot, in addition to artistic talents of a high order, brought to fiction a scholar's mind and the exact training of translation. Through years of reviewing, she had observed the shortcomings of current fiction, and had decided how she would go about eliminating the flaws she had found. The Hawthorne review is but one of several in which her theory of the art of fiction is developed.

The most obvious prediction which contemporaries could have made about the anonymous author of this critique would have been that if he were ever to write any novels himself they would certainly display a strong moral element. And, of course, the novels of George Eliot did exactly that. Like many other Victorian intellectuals, she passed from the lukewarm Anglicanism of her home, through a period of fervid Evangelicalism during the late thirties and early forties, to her ultimate revolt against orthodoxy and to the final liberalism of her mature years. Though she was a "free-thinker," the moral code instilled in her during her girlhood was only reinforced by her study of philosophy and theology and the religious crisis through which she passed. Important also is the fact that her union with George Henry Lewes forced her to be particularly careful in her moral utterances. All her writing is distinguished by a moral code notable for its sternness.

It was the age of the great realists, Thackeray and Trollope, of the Pre-Raphaelite painters with their combination of romantic themes and photographic accuracy; and George Eliot, who admired the realistic Dutch painters, was one of the supreme realists in fiction.<sup>4</sup> That she was already developing her theory as early as 1852 is demonstrated by this review. Realism *per se* was not enough; it must be a kind of realism which leads the mind to the ideal. It must also stop short of portraying the ugly and indecent. One is reminded of her own Mr. Brooke in *Middlemarch* with his reiterated ". . . up to a certain point, you know." It is interesting, moreover, to recall that though there is a drowning in all but two of George Eliot's novels — Thias Bede in *Adam Bede*, Maggie and Tom in *The Mill on the Floss*,



Dunstan Cass in *Silas Marner*, and Grandcourt in *Daniel Deronda* — in no instance does she give such a description of the drowned person as Hawthorne does of Zenobia in *The Blithedale Romance*.

In view of her expressed opinion concerning the "inexorable law of consequences"<sup>5</sup> and her practice in illustrating its workings, it may seem a little strange to find her in this review of *The Blithedale Romance* condemning Hawthorne for his harsh treatment of Zenobia. Miss Evans's indignation bursts out in the passage quoted above, and she also quotes Zenobia:

A moral? Why this: that in the battlefields of life, the downright stroke that would fall only on a man's steel head-piece, is sure to light upon a woman's heart, over which she wears no breastplate, and whose wisdom it is, therefore, to keep out of the conflict. Or thus: that the whole universe, her own sex and yours, and Providence or destiny to boot, make common cause against the woman who swerves one hair's breadth out of the beaten track. Yes; and add (for I may as well own it now) that, with that one hair's breadth, she goes all astray, and never sees the world in its true aspect afterwards.<sup>6</sup>

Ironic for the creator of Maggie Tulliver to be quoting this passage with entire approval! But her attitude is consistent, for George Eliot's treatment of characters who come to ruin is fundamentally different from that meted out to Zenobia. In no case does she fail to sympathize, to understand, and to make clear to her readers the deep-rooted and obscure reasons for the tragedy. Only with Maggie Tulliver does the nemesis seem too harsh. When tragedy becomes the lot of any of George Eliot's heroes or heroines, the reader does not have to ask why; he knows why; the whole object of the novel is to explain the reason. But one does ask why Zenobia should have been sacrificed as she was. One is not sufficiently prepared for her suicide and resents it. In this book Hawthorne did not succeed in arousing the same degree of sympathy in his reader as he did, for example, in *The Scarlet Letter*.

There remains one other criticism of *The Blithedale Romance* to be considered and related to George Eliot's theory and practice — her objection to Hawthorne's use of Brook Farm. She contended that he had not sufficiently shown the moral effect of the socialistic experiment upon the lives of his characters.

He had not written, in effect, what she was later to write, that is, novels showing the impact of society upon the individual. Throughout her work, she attempted to illustrate and explain the result of the complex workings of the social organization upon selected human beings. But of all her novels *Middlemarch* is the most ambitious (and most successful) attempt to picture the struggles of atypical middle-class people to achieve self-development and happiness despite the prevailing conventions and beliefs of provincial society. If ever George Eliot succeeded in displaying what she wished Hawthorne had done in *The Blithedale Romance*, it was in this book.

## Notes

1. J. W. Cross, *George Eliot's Life* (Edinburgh and London, 1885), I, 288.
2. *Ibid.*, I 291.
3. *The Westminster Review*, (October, 1852), 592. Subsequent references to the review will be indicated by inserting the page numbers into the text.
4. See *Adam Bede*, Bk. II, Chap. 17.
5. The statement of this belief will be found in a review of *The Progress of the Intellect*, by R. W. Mackay, in the *Westminster Review* for January, 1851, 353-68.
6. *Westminster Review*, (October, 1852), 594.

# Lithographs in the Print Department

By PAUL B. SWENSON

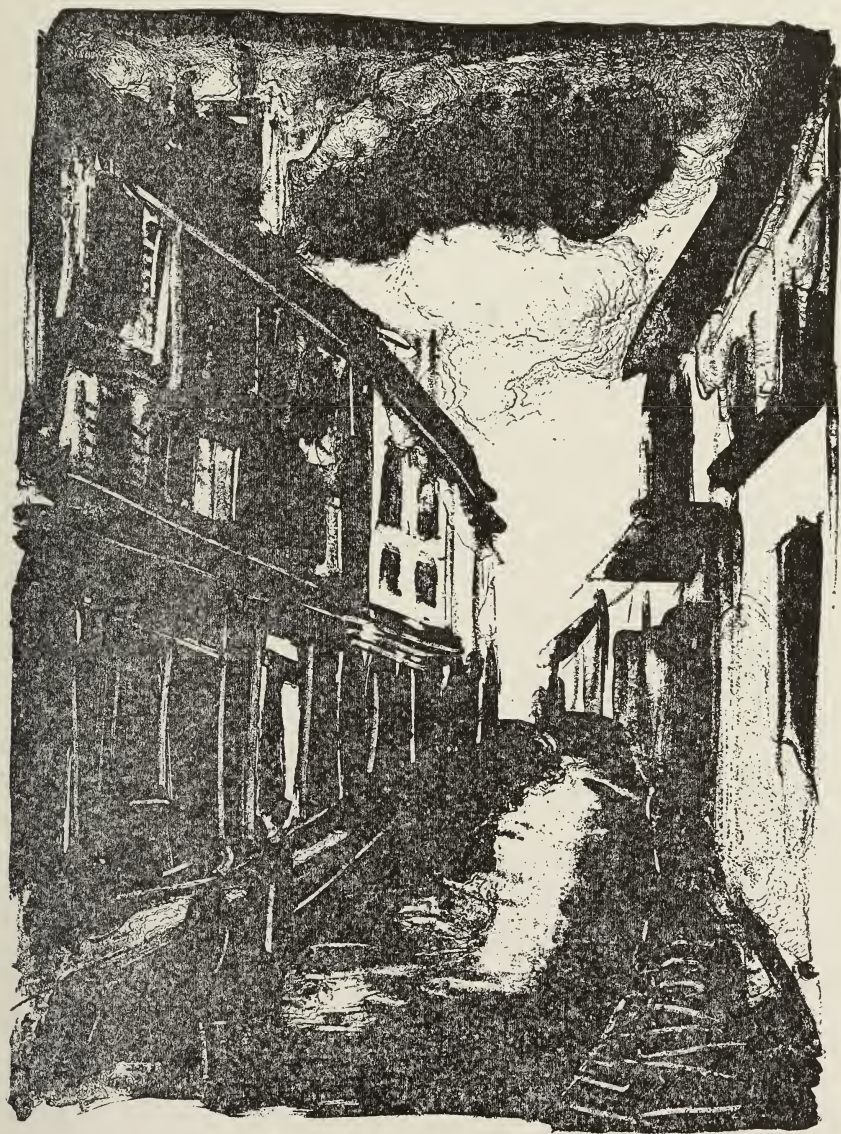
EVER since its invention in 1798 by Alois Senefelder, the art of lithography has proven to be one of the most challenging of the print mediums. As an artistic expression it came into being as an outgrowth of the need for a method of mass reproduction of pictures for commercial purposes, such as book, magazine, and newspaper illustration, and advertising. Artists both here and abroad found lithography an ideal medium for producing hundreds and thousands of copies of a print.

The term "lithography" used here is not to be confused with today's highly mechanized methods of high-speed offset lithography. Instead, reference is made to lithographs in the creative field, printed from compositions which the artist draws with a greasy chalk on the grained surface of a heavy slab of Bavarian limestone. The stone is then moistened. Wherever there is grease, the water is repelled. A greasy ink is rolled over the surface. Where there is a greasy mark or line, the ink on the roller is attracted; and where the stone is damp and clean, the ink is repelled. Dampened paper is placed on the stone and run through the press by hand, one copy being produced at a time. If the design calls for two or more colors, a separate stone must be prepared for each color, each stone being printed separately.

Throughout the history of artistic lithography, the fundamentals of the technique have not changed appreciably. It is a medium, however, which lends itself to great individuality of style, and artists today are experimenting with new color combinations and greater emphasis on textural richness. They have sought through the application of cloth, leaves, and paper of various kinds to explore the possibilities of the medium.

It is perhaps not generally known that the Print Department of the Library has a collection of lithographs consisting of a number of complete or nearly complete groups of works by artists containing thousands of fine examples of the development





*"Village Street," a Lithograph by Vlaminck*





of the art from its earliest period. The most outstanding of these groups, to mention only a few, are by Charlet, Daumier, Gavarni, Fantin-Latour, and Toulouse-Lautrec; by the late English lithographer, John Copley; and by the Americans, George Bellows, Stow Wengenroth, and George Biddle. In recent months the Daumier group has been brought substantially nearer to completion, and Wengenroth's work is kept up-to-date through the generosity of Mrs. H. F. J. Knoblock. In the realm of early lithographs the Library is particularly fortunate in having duplicates of nine of the best volumes of the *Voyages Pittoresques*, better known as the *Golden Book of Lithography*, published in France in the early part of the nineteenth century. They include thousands of fine lithographic views of France done by Isabey, Bonnington, Harding, and others.

In attempting to evaluate the prints in the collection, one has to think of them as not only superb works of art but as cultural and social documents of a unique kind. Often, especially in the case of the early 19th-century lithographs, these prints provide the best, and sometimes the only, portraits of the great literary and political figures of the period. The later lithographers, although they worked long after the advent of photography and motion pictures, made contributions of an equally valid sort. For instance, it is doubtful if any news-photo of such an event as the Dempsey and Firpo fight (1924) would present the viewer with the intensity and excitement found in George Bellows's lithograph of the scene.

Bearing this in mind, one may turn to the prints of two of the greatest and most prolific artists to document their environment and times in an extraordinarily complete way. They are Daumier and Gavarni. Daumier is still thought of mainly as a political cartoonist and satirist, and his prints, numbering over four thousand, have yet to be fully appreciated, as they present a veritable visual history of France in their time. This history goes far beyond the factual accounts to be found in textbooks. Daumier's prints may be regarded as the graphic equivalents of the novels of Balzac and Victor Hugo.

Gavarni's work has similarities to that of Daumier, both technically and in its content. But, while Daumier reflects the

inner workings of the mind of the average Frenchman, Gavarni has left behind a brilliant, romantic, and sensitive record of the glitter and gaiety of the social scene. His *oeuvre* is filled with imaginative portrayals of society, often evoking the spirit of E. T. A. Hoffmann, whose strange tales he illustrated. For the most part, he left political satire to Daumier, whom he admired and did not wish to imitate. Yet he was not absorbed in the merely superficial aspects of society. His series of lithographs done after a visit to London, during which he was shocked by the wretched conditions of the poor, shows that he knew how to picture the most sordid states of human deprivation.

Lithography has also been used to interpret sentiments and ideas of a less tangible sort. One of the best examples of this is found in the prints of Fantin-Latour, whose work came shortly after the time of Daumier and Gavarni. With a few exceptions, his prints depict rather dream-like compositions inspired by the music of his great contemporaries, Berlioz, Schumann, Liszt, Brahms, and, above all, Wagner. It is doubtful if any other group of composers was the object of such a preoccupation of an artist. In the scenes from Wagner, as in practically all his other prints, Fantin-Latour depends upon allegory and classicism which often recalls Poussin and Watteau, lacking however the structural qualities and sense of appropriateness of these earlier masters. It is difficult to overlook the dated sentiments in Fantin-Latour's work, which detract from the finer qualities of his prints. Yet in certain instances, as in "L'Enfance du Christ" and "Prélude du Lohengrin," his conceptions reach a great height of feeling.

The turn of the century witnessed increased interest in color lithography. Toulouse-Lautrec, Steinlen, and Forain in France produced many notable prints showing Paris in a variety of aspects. The greatest of the group was Toulouse-Lautrec, whose genius has kept alive the names of scores of Montmartre performers, such as Yvette Guilbert, May Milton, Jane Avril, and Goulue. Other artists, like Vuillard, Bonnard, and Vlaminck, show more intimate glimpses of the every-day life of the period.

## Notes on Rare Books

### Jefferson's Bill of Religious Freedom

**E**ACH year Colonial Williamsburg celebrates May 15 as the prelude to Independence Day. It was on May 15, 1776 that the Virginia Convention of delegates at Williamsburg passed the unanimous resolution instructing the Virginia delegates in the Continental Congress at Philadelphia "to declare the United Colonies free and independent states, absolved from all allegiance to or dependance upon, the crown or parliament of Great Britain." Upon the move of Richard Henry Lee, Congress adopted the resolution; and a few days later a committee was elected to draw up the Declaration of Independence. As every one knows, the committee entrusted the task to Thomas Jefferson.

Distinguished guests take part in the yearly celebration at Williamsburg. Two years ago President Eisenhower and last year Secretary of State John Foster Dulles gave the opening address from the colonial Capitol of Virginia. This year the theme of the celebration was "Religious Freedom." Grayson L. Kirk, President of Columbia University, spoke on that subject; and Dumas Malone, Professor of History at Columbia and biographer of Jefferson, read Jefferson's "Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom."

The copy of this immortal bill — the only known existing copy of the earliest printing — was lent to Colonial Williamsburg by the Boston Public Library, which was glad to participate thus in the celebration. For seven weeks — from May 15 to July 4 — the document was on view in the House of Burgesses in the reconstructed Capitol.

The action of May 15, 1776 started off a series of great events in Virginia as well as in the whole country. On June 12 the Legislature of Virginia adopted its famous Bill of Rights, prepared by George Mason and amended by James Madison, the last clause announcing

That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity towards each other.

Returning from Philadelphia to Williamsburg, Jefferson in the fall of 1776 was wholly absorbed by the problem of religious freedom. He made a draft of a bill for the disestablishment of the Anglican Church, and another for the exempting of dissenters from contributing to the support of the church; studied the Acts of Parliament and of the Virginia Assembly concerning religion during the past hundred years; gathered material from the writings of Locke and Shaftesbury; and jotted down ideas for speeches. (The notes are published, in Julian P. Boyd's admirable editing, in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Princeton University Press, 1950, Vol. I, 525-58. The later developments are presented in Vol. II, 545-53.)

In 1777 Jefferson drew up his bill of religious freedom in final form; but it was only in June 1779, after his election as Governor of Virginia, that his friend John Harvie, a delegate from Albemarle County, introduced it before the House of Burgesses. The bill passed a second reading on the following day; the third reading, however, was postponed to August, which killed it for that session.

During that summer the document was published as a broadside — undoubtedly, in a private way rather than by a public authority. Entitled *A Bill for establishing Religious Freedom, printed for the consideration of the People*, it has neither date, nor place of printing and name of printer. Indeed, the bibliographies of Evans (19,350), Swem (7,476), and Sabin (10,041) attribute it to the Richmond printer James Hayes, suggesting the date 1785. The editors of the *Jefferson Papers*, however, prove that it was printed at Williamsburg in 1779. Apparently no manuscript copy has survived.

The bill consists of a lengthy preamble and two resolutions. It was the preamble which aroused the greatest opposition when Madison re-introduced the bill on October 1, 1785. Various amendments were proposed, one aiming to strike out the whole preamble and substitute in its place a mere reference to the last clause of the Virginia Bill of Rights. Yet on December 17 the House passed the bill by a large majority. The Senate, however, insisted on certain alterations, until, after long wrangling, an agreement was reached on January 16, 1786. The preamble was retained, but some of its more sweeping statements about the supremacy of reason were deleted, as was also the pronouncement that "the opinions of men are not the object of civil government, nor under its jurisdiction." The resolutions, with a single stylistic change, remained. They read:

We the General Assembly of *Virginia* do enact, that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious Worship,

place, or Ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief, but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

And though we well know that this Assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purpose of legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding Assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own, and that therefore to declare this act irrevocable would be of no effect in law; yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind, and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present, or to narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of natural right.

In a letter to Jefferson, then serving as American Minister to France, Madison gave a detailed account of the fortunes of the bill in the two houses of the legislature. The alterations, he thought, "did not affect the substance though they somewhat defaced the composition"; and "the enacting clauses . . . have in this country extinguished for ever the ambitious hope of making laws for the human mind." Jefferson was overjoyed with the news. The Act, he wrote to Madison, "has been received with infinite approbation in Europe and propagated with enthusiasm," adding, "I do not mean by the governments, but by the individuals which compose them."

The Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom is certainly one of the great instruments of liberty. As Dr. Kirk reminded his audience: Of all the thirteen American colonies, only Rhode Island had enjoyed full religious freedom at that time. Nine colonies had established churches, and three others had provisions restricting the holding of public office to persons of stated theological beliefs. As to the rest of the western world, the principle of the established church still reigned supreme everywhere. "The memories of religious persecution," the speaker remarked, "were still fresh in the minds of men, for many a Christian of many a creed had lately slaughtered his fellow Christians of another creed — and all in the name of the Prince of Peace."

Jefferson was fully conscious of the historical significance of the document. He directed that it be listed in his epitaph, along with the writing of the Declaration of Independence and the founding of the University of Virginia, as one of his greatest achievements.



The Influence of *La Celestina* in England

WE must be grateful for Louis Ugalde's essay in praise of *The Celestina* of 1502 in the October 1954 issue of *The Boston Public Library Quarterly*; and certainly there is much to praise, for *La Celestina* has many charms and has had much influence outside Spain, as Messrs. M. R. Foulché-Delbosc, A. S. W. Rosenbach, and H. Warner Allen have previously shown. It is when Mr. Ugalde speaks of its influence in England that one must adjust some of his claims; I am particularly concerned with what he says about the interlude *Calisto and Melibea*.

\*

To say that "it is probable that a pupil of Juan Luis Vives wrote the interlude, with its moral tone, since Vives was at that time at Oxford" (p. 220) is to speak with an assurance that leans too far beyond the logical basis. We recall that Vives had been a professor at Louvain for several years after 1519: a student of his from those years might have written the interlude, as well as one from his four or five years at Oxford. But really there is no strong reason, nothing beyond inference, to insist that it had to be a student of Vives who wrote the interlude: unless Mr. Ugalde has in mind Allen's suggestion of Morison, of which I will speak in a moment. In point of fact, scholarship now generally accepts John Rastell as the author of the Tudor Interlude *Calisto and Melibea*, and Mr. Ugalde has brought no fresh evidence or argument to counter the traditional ascription of Reed, Boas and others.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Ugalde, I take it, was following the line of discussion advanced by H. Warner Allen, in which the suggestion is followed through that "Vives' denunciation of the *Celestina* [as *liber pestifer*] served the usual purpose of such denunciations and drew the attention of one of his pupils or friends to the reprobated work, who composed a version of the tragi-comedy for the English stage 'in manner of an Enterlude.'" But such a suggestion is rather different from the statement that "it is probable that a pupil of Juan Luis

1. A. W. Reed, *Early Tudor Drama* (1926), pp. 112 ff.: "I believe that he [John Rastell] was the adapter or compiler of *Calisto and Meleboea*" (p. 116). In *An Introduction to Tudor Drama* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1933), F. S. Boas writes: "If (as is probable) a third piece, *Calisto and Meliboea*, is rightly attributed to him [John Rastell] . . ." (p. 9). Authorship has by no means been permanently established in favor of Rastell, but the consensus of argument on literary grounds seems convincingly in his favor and likely so to remain until bibliographical study can throw further light: it is surely misleading to write as though the play were generally regarded as anonymous.

Vives wrote the interlude," though both Allen and Ugalde build upon a *post hoc ergo propter hoc* argument: Vives was not the only Spaniard in England (though he was, to be sure, a temptingly likely one), and Erasmus we know, and perhaps More also, had friends in Spain.

As to Sir Richard Morison's candidacy for authorship of the Interlude, I think his relation to Vives was by no means so obvious as Allen suggested. Professor Zeeveld's recent study of *Foundations of Tudor Policy* (1948) has made amply clear Morison's early connections with Wolsey, that indeed Morison was a former member of Wolsey's household. This in the 1520's would not have endeared him to the Thomas More circle, in which Vives was intimate, and for this reason John Heywood for a time was thought a more promising candidate for the authorship of *Calisto*; but literary scholarship, as I have said, is weighted on the side of Rastell, who was the printer of the interlude.

\*

The interlude *Calisto and Melibea* (printed about 1525) "was the first English play indebted to a foreign source," Mr. Ugalde writes (p. 221). This can scarcely be permitted to stand without scrutiny, even if we accept the rather early dating of 1525 and pass over the mystery and miracle plays of which we know so little, for the reason that the source-material on which they were likely built — the Old Testament, the Legendaries, and the like — were not really foreign. There can surely be no challenge to the priority of the morality play *Fulgens and Lucres*. First, *Fulgens* clearly antedates *Calisto*, having been performed about 1497 and printed before 1520 (Boas, p. 4, and Reed, p. 116). Second, the English morality play takes its plot from Buonaccorso's Latin dialogue *De Vera Nobilitate*, though probably not directly from the Latin, more likely from Tiptoft's English version of 1481 which was in turn translated from the French of Jean Mielot (printed at Bruges about 1475).<sup>2</sup> There were doubtless others: some of John Heywood's interludes, and French influence upon Heywood is well known, may well have been performed before 1525; and it is not unlikely that there was foreign influence upon the dramatic entertainments at court and at the Inns of Court before 1525 — we know enough, at least, to be sure that *Calisto* was not "the first English play indebted to a foreign source."

R. J. SCHOECK

2. Cf. E.Ph. Goldschmidt, *Medieval Texts and Their First Appearance in Print* (London: The Bibliographical Society, Suppl. 16, 1943), pp. 5-6.

## A Reply

IN his *Early Tudor Drama* A. W. Reed states that there are only 78 lines of original matter in the body of the interlude *Calisto and Melibea*, and even some of those are "scriptural and conventional substitutions for classical references."<sup>1</sup> He calls our attention to a dream by Melibea's father Danio, which is part of this original material. Danio's comment on the dream takes the form of a moralizing address on the evil which results when the education and training of youth is neglected, and exhorts heads and rulers to make good laws whereby social ills may be corrected. Reed points out that this same kind of moralizing address appears in Rastell's *Gentleness and Nobility*, and that their "striking" resemblance cannot be ignored. Another resemblance between the two works, according to him, is a reference to heresy and to brute beasts, which, incidentally, are mentioned in other works of Rastell.

Frederick S. Boas, in his *Introduction to Tudor Drama*, also makes mention of Danio's dream and writes, "As Rastell shows elsewhere a special interest in dreams and as he always had an eye to social improvement, it seems likely that he was the author as well as the publisher of this incomplete adaptation."<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, A. S. W. Rosenbach dismisses Rastell as the author: "It is much more probable that one of the pupils of Vives was the maker of it, for has not the English adapter made a moral interlude out of the picaresque 'Celestina'?"<sup>3</sup>

H. Warner Allen has the same idea: "We may consider, therefore, that the Interlude was very probably the work of one of Vives' pupils or friends, but beyond this with present evidence we cannot go with any certainty."<sup>4</sup> Allen emphasizes that the colophon of the Interlude reads, "Johēs Rastell me imprimi fecit" and that if he had been responsible for the version, he probably would have used the words "me fieri fecit" as he did in *Gentleness and Nobility*, which was his own work. Another interesting point to which Allen calls attention is a list of "natural or bodily blessings" which appeared in Vives's Latin treatise *Ad Sapientiam Introductio*, published in Aberdeen in 1523. The following table offers a comparison of the

1. A. W. Reed, *Early Tudor Drama* (London [1926]), p. 113.

2. Frederick S. Boas, *An Introduction to Tudor Drama* (Oxford [1950]), p. 9.

3. A. S. W. Rosenbach, *The Influence of the "Celestina" In the Early English Drama* (Berlin, 1903), p. 47.

4. H. Warner Allen, *Celestina or the tragi-comedy of Calisto and Melibea* (London, 1901), p.

different versions of the blessings as they appeared in Vives; in *La Celestina*; in James Mabbe's translation of *La Celestina* (*The Spanish Bard*, 1631); in the Interlude *Calisto and Melibea*; and in Sir Richard Morison's English translation of Vives's work, *An Introduction to Wysedom*, published in 1540.

<i>Vives</i>	<i>Celestina</i>	<i>Mabbe</i>	<i>Interlude</i>	<i>Morison</i>
forma	fermosura	favour	bewte	beauty
sanitas	gracia	feature	gretnes of	health
firmitas	grandeza de	largeness of	membres	integrite of
integritas	miembros	limbs	perfect	members
robur	fuerza	force	strenght	strength
celeritas	ligereza	agility	lyghtness	lightness
delectatio				delectation

Allen insists that the similarity between the Latin and the Spanish versions rests more with the thought than the form, and can probably be attributed to a common classical source. However, the translation of Morison, a student at Oxford during Vives's professorship there, bears a closer resemblance to the Interlude's version than to its Latin original. Morison's "integrite of members" and "lightness" are hardly the best translations of "firmitas," "integritas," and "celeritas." Allen's conclusion is that Morison was at least acquainted with the Interlude and might possibly have written it, since it is improbable that anyone but the author would retain a verbal memory of the Interlude, which was soon forgotten.

Perhaps it is somewhat strong to claim as probable that a pupil of Juan Luis Vives wrote the Interlude. Yet it would seem that the similarity of the moralizing addresses as well as the references to heresy and brute beasts in *Gentleness and Nobility* and *Calisto and Melibea* presents no stronger an argument than the colophon of the Interlude and Morison's translation of the blessings.

Mr. Schoeck's second point is well taken. The sentence should read "It was the first English play indebted to a Spanish source."

LOUIS UGALDE

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